

revolution"; that orphaned children can now enjoy a better life than they did with their parents; that the tribes are an "unshakeable bulwark" for safeguarding the country against aggression & imperialism; & that the majority of Afghans who live outside the country want to avail themselves of the general amnesty decree & return home.

1/21 - Afghan Realities - A bomb exploded in Mia Mandai in the Mohmand Agency killing 2 & destroying a mosque & several shops.

- BIA - The KNT reports that 60-80% of the heroin reaching the US goes through "numerous channels of the Afghan counter-revolutionary bandits." Therefore Pakistan's claims that it sends troops to the tribal area to prevent narcotics production & smuggling are "ridiculous."

- NYCT - Elie Krakowski, a special asst. in the US Defense Dept., called recent Soviet peace feelers an "exercise in deception" regarded by the US as aimed at undermining int'l support for the resistance.

1/22 - NYCT - Western diplomats reported that ca. 100 civilians were killed in Soviet air attacks on Charikar (Parwan) & Kuhistan (Kapisa) on 1/10 & 1/13. Ishtalif & the Salang Highway were also bombed.

1/23 - Afghan Realities - A bomb blast in the Peshawar office of Pakistan Airlines killed 4 & injured 24. The building was severely damaged.

- BIA - Successful DRA operations in Herat & Jauzjan resulted in 130 dead "bandits," the capture of 8 rocket launchers, 73,000 bullets, 44 anti-tank weapons, 14 grenades, 3 packs of medicine, a tractor, some typewriters & 7 vehicles. Two bandits were killed & 6 injured in an explosion in a hospital in Peshawar.

1/24 - PT - Soviets massacred 55 children in the Khogyany district, 12 km east of Jalalabad, last week. The children had been attending a mujahideen school.

1/25 - PT - China categorically rejected DRA charges of interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs which were put forth in a DRA White Book (see New Publications).

1/25 - BIA - Statistics for the foreign journalists: 23% of the DRA population can read & write simple sentences; 12% people are literate; 80% of DRA domestic trade belongs to the private sector; over 50% of the foreign trade is state run; the FRG & the GDR are the most important "commercial dealers of Afghanistan."

1/27 - NYT - Babrak told the visiting journalists that the US should stop adding the guerrillas if they wanted to stop the war in Afghanistan. He said, however, that some military advisers might stay in the DRA even though a settlement was reached.

- PT - The Peshawar Police Inspector Gen'l blamed Khad agents for the recent spate of bombings in the NWFP. A Russian-made bomb exploded yesterday in a small hotel injuring 12. Afghan Realities reported bomb blasts in Miran Shah & in Parachinar.

1/28 - NYCT - A NWFP provincial police chief said that Khad agents were entering Pakistan in groups of 4 & that the Kabul authorities were paying them between \$312 & \$375/bomb blast:

"The Afghan government keeps the wives and children of these agents in captivity until their return to Afghanistan," the police official said.

He said the agents would take back Pakistani newspapers carrying reports of the bomb blasts to prove that they had carried out their tasks.

- PT - Two Khad agents were arrested in the Landi Kotal bazaar. Pakistani police found 16 kg of explosives in their luggage.

1/29 - NYCT - About 120 mujahideen were killed & 60 wounded when DRA forces attacked their hideout near Herat. Many civilians were killed when the DRA bombed Herat's suburbs on 1/12.

1/30 - PT - Mujahideen attacked the Khad & NFF offices in Kandahar on 1/5 killing 21.

- BIA - A Commission was assigned to collect suggestions from the people for the drafting of the final version of the next 5-year-plan.

2/1 - PT - Japan will give 2.2 billion yen worth of food to the World Food Program for Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

2/2 - PT - The GDR will give \$1m to the Int'l Red Cross & \$3m to UNHCR for Afghan refugees.

2/2 - NYT - Pres. Reagan suspended most-favored-nation status for Afghanistan, thereby raising duties on imports.  
- PT - Hizb-i-Islami mujahideen claimed to have entered Soviet Tajikistan in December & blown up 2 power stations.

2/3 - PT - Pakistan Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Zain Noorani denied the contents of a Time Magazine article (12/11/85) about Pakistani pilferage of refugee supplies & inflated figures for refugee numbers. He said there are 2.67 million registered refugees in Pakistan & 1m unregistered & that the Pakistan gov't did not act as a conduit for the supply of arms to the resistance inside Afghanistan.

- Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao, a chief of the defunct PPP party of Pakistan, called for direct talks between Pakistan & Kabul.  
- A Yugoslav paper said that over 85,000 Afghan Muslims are "groaning in Afghan jails."

2/5 - NYT - Afghan rebels have stepped up their activities in Kabul with rocket attacks in the area of the Soviet Embassy & on the airport. A Soviet-made 122-mm rocket, presumably meant for the airport, landed on the US Embassy grounds; some windows were broken. Fighting was reported north of Kabul & casualties have been heavy on both sides.

- Reagan in the State of the Union:

To those imprisoned in regime held captive, to those beaten for daring to fight for freedom and democracy - for their right to worship, to speak, to live and prosper in the family of free nations - we say to you tonight: you are not alone freedom fighters. America will support with moral and material assistance your right not just to fight and die for freedom, but to fight and win freedom - in Afghanistan; Angola; Cambodia; and Nicaragua.

2/6 - NYT - CBS News won a Columbia Univ. Alfred I Dupont award for "Afghanistan: Operation Blackout," a series of reports on Afghan rebels' attempts to disrupt Kabul last summer.

2/9 - PT - One person was killed & 17 (mostly Afghan refugees) were injured in a bomb blast in Sadda Bazaar in Kurram.

2/10 - NYT - Iranian relations with the USSR are improving according to Iranian Parliament Speaker Rafsanjani, but two major problems remain: Soviet support for Iraq & their military presence in Afghanistan. On 2/11. the PT quoted

Rafsanjani as saying that there was "hope that the Afghan people would be free soon" but that it was too early to give details.

2/12 - NYT - Guerrillas reportedly killed or wounded 200 DRA-Soviet soldiers recently: Over 90 may have been killed in Herat on 1/29; 40-50 in Paktia on 1/31; 15 in Paktia on 2/2 & 15 in Ghazni. The NYCT reports heavy fighting in the Panjsher with over 100 wounded taken to a Kabul hospital. The HK Standard reports planes shot down in Herat, Ghazni & Ghor. The mild winter in Afghanistan has permitted uninterrupted fighting.

2/13 - Diego Cordovez wound up a 2-day visit to the USSR. He will begin a Kabul-Islamabad "shuttle" in early March to prepare for the next round of Geneva talks scheduled for late March.

2/15 - SCMP - A US State Dept. report issued on 2/13 chronicled abuses of human rights in Afghanistan:

The report accused Soviet troops among the estimated 115,000 in Afghanistan of punitive actions in which hundreds of civilians were killed on suspicion of supporting Afghan guerrillas.

It said in March last year Soviet soldiers killed over 1,000 civilians in Laghman province.

"In May, again in Laghman province, some 100 innocent civilians, mostly children

and old women, were slaughtered when Soviet soldiers attacked the village of Qargan," the report said. It did not say where it got the information.

In passing, the report criticized the guerrillas for executing Soviet prisoners, but it was concerned chiefly with condemning brutality it said was perpetrated by the Soviet troops, the Afghan Government and its Khad secret police.

2/18 - NYCT - Albert Weeks quotes Red Star, the Soviet military daily, as reporting that Soviet medical treatment of soldiers wounded in Afghanistan is "inadequate."

2/19 - NYCT - Civilian buses are being included in military convoys on the Salang Highway to prevent the guerrillas from staging ambushes.

- NYT - Some Afghan students in Poland were ordered back to Kabul. About 20 of them staged a protest in the Afghan Embassy in Warsaw; they were evicted by the Polish authorities.

2/24 - NYT - Pres. Zia said yesterday that he hoped next month's Geneva talks would lead to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

- Kabul Radio reported that Babrak was on his way to Moscow for the 27th Soviet Communist Party Congress.

"Buzkashi," the national game of Afghanistan, has returned to Peshawar.

Centuries ago, when this frontier town served as second capital to the kings of Kabul, buzkashi was a passion here. Today, for exiled Afghans who have sought refuge here, buzkashi has become a symbol of cultural defiance.

A rough-shod form of polo, buzkashi has little to do with the more genteel English version. Players use bare hands rather than mallets and are fairly loose about rules. The "ball" also happens to be the torso of a goat or calf.

In Afghanistan itself, the sport has been banned by the Soviet-backed regime of Babrak Karmal because of the crowds and the reckless fervor with which it is played. Although still practiced in certain guerrilla-held areas of northern Afghanistan, it has become dangerous because of helicopters and Soviet jets. It is, therefore, played in exile with a spirit of resistance...

Every Friday, the Muslim holy day, Pathan tribesmen, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Turkomans, Nuristanis, and even Hazaras from the central highlands flock to Paktiabad, the traditional Afghan quarter of Peshawar, to watch the buzkashi. Dari (Afghan Persian) flows just as easily as Pashto.

One of the major stumbling blocks in providing education to Afghans, however, is political rivalry among resistance parties. According to Western relief sources, United Nations educational funds are channeled through the Pakistan Refugee Commission which in turn passes

them on to the parties, usually those favored by the Pakistani government. As a result, teachers at refugee schools are chosen according to their political affiliations rather than merit.

Several West European governments are also considering transferring their once highly reputed Kabul-based high schools to Pakistan. These, noted one source, would employ Afghan teachers, but would be under European directorship to ensure independence. Similarly, certain groups are investigating the creation of a free Afghan university offering training in medicine, engineering, teachers' training, and social sciences. According to observers, such an institution would not only allow students to continue their studies but also serve as a valuable resistance forum.

"We still haven't reached that stage, but it's much more focused than before," noted one Western source. The Pakistanis and the parties, they stress, would seek to assert their influence. "The only way this could work is if it remains a neutral institution," remarked one Afghan academic who requested not to be identified. "Once the Peshawar politicals start getting involved that will be the end of it."

Excerpts from a series of articles by Edward Girardet in the CSMS of 12/27, 30 & 31 & 1/2, 3 & 6.

In order to "sensitize" world opinion to the Afghan conflict some have suggested organizing two buzkashi exhibition teams be sent on a world tour.

"Of course, we're going to have to do something about the calves and goats," said an American relief worker. "The SPCAs [societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals] are not going to like it."

But that doesn't seem much of a problem — the more professional buzkashi teams have long used sewn leather sacks instead of real animals.

As a fighting force, the *mujahideen* still retain a grim determination to pursue their *jihād* (holy war) against the invaders from the north — no matter what. Certain guerrilla fronts such as that of Pathan commander Abdul Haq from Kabul, or Tadjik Ahmed Shah Massoud from Panishair and Ismail Khan in Herat, generally have managed to adapt to improved Soviet tactics and increased firepower. They regularly succeed in striking hard at the occupation forces.

Yet, according to various guerrilla commanders, international relief workers, Western journalists, and other observers, resistance capabilities have deteriorated in a number of provinces. *Mujahed* centers in Balkh, Badakhshan, Nimruz, and even Ghazni have suffered badly from an increasingly mobile helicopter war, ambushes by special forces, subversion, and the loss through death — in battle or by assassination — of key commanders.

As many as half of Afghanistan's top commanders in the field have been killed over the past few years.

In one incident earlier this month, Amin Wardak, a top resistance commander from Wardak Province, was ambushed along a *mujahed* trail leading to the Pakistan border. Over a three-day period, he lost 82 men, and 60 were injured. When this correspondent met him at the Red Cross hospital where he had carried some of his wounded, he explained that they had been attacked at night in a narrow gorge.

"At first, we didn't know we were being shot at because of the silencers. Then people began falling."

The Soviets have introduced equipment better suited to conditions in the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan, such as lighter, more mobile mortars. Barrages, too, of long-range artillery and rockets are proving particularly lethal. So has the increased use of clusters of seismic mines, which are triggered to go off by vibration and planted by *Spetsnaz* along caravan routes or in the frontier zones with Pakistan.

## AFGHANISTAN

Savage stalemate



Certainly the most important recent development has been the advent of large-scale US funding for cross-border relief — an estimated \$48 million or more over the next two years, including at least \$10 million for transportation and non-military activities.

The US Agency for International Development (AID) in Islamabad has refused to comment publicly on how these funds are to be spent. But according to Western sources they will be channelled toward health, education, and other forms of humanitarian aid inside Afghanistan.

Though welcome, this surge of aid has caused European and other Western relief representatives to express concern about the way the US intends to distribute it. Too much sudden aid, they feel, could grove detrimental to the resistance cause and lead to further corruption, even disunity among the parties. Peshawar already hosts many international relief agencies, all intent on running their own humanitarian projects.

"We can only hope that the Americans will exercise caution," said Anders Fange of a Swedish aid committee.

Observers also feel that AID is proving too dependent on the Pakistani government. Unlike other agencies with humanitarian experience in Afghanistan, the US seems to be leaning on the exiled political parties in Peshawar rather than on the more closely involved resistance commanders in Afghanistan.

"The Americans just don't understand the complexities of the Afghan situation," noted one Western observer. "It's taken them years to get involved and now they suddenly know it better than anyone else."

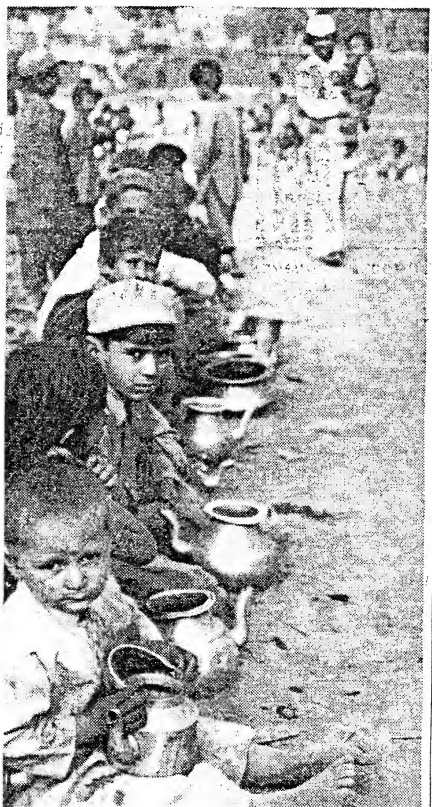
Other sources, however, maintain that the private agencies haven't considered the scope of what the Americans are contemplating. "It's a matter of thinking expansively," commented one.

According to these sources, AID plans to operate through a proposed Pakistani organization which will coordinate relief through the seven Afghan political parties recognized by the government. While the parties generally represent most ethnic groups, the Shiite Hazara minority (one-sixth of the country population) has not been included in the US relief strategy.

The Pakistanis are known to favor the more fundamental Pushtun-dominated Afg groups, notably Hekma Gulbuddin's Hezb-e Inqilab-lame faction. Hekmatyar viewed by many informed observers as the most controversial ruthless of the Peshawar leader.

Private relief agencies are rior and oblige them to work under Pakistani control. the beginning," said American Steve Keller of the International Rescue Committee, "the idea was to cut out Peshawar leaders. But the US has now surrendered the Pakistanis on every point."

US officials in Washington and Islamabad appear favor backing Hekmatyar. Similarly, some refer to Afghan struggle as a "Pathan-run war" even though resistance is made up of a patchwork of guerrilla forces representing different tribal and ethnic groups. While some of its top chiefs are indeed Pushtun (Pathan), other highly reputed leaders such as Tajik commander Ahn Shah Massoud of the Panjshair or Hazara Sayid Jagh of Ghazni are not.



Afghan refugee children in Peshawar await milk rations

"We've never had so many women and children as in the past year," said Françoise Ruffinen, chief delegate of the International Committee of the Red Cross, giving a tour of its crowded war casualty hospital in Peshawar. "Last night, seven women and 12 children were brought in."

"We were completely overrun during the summer. . . . We had to set up a secondary hospital tent just to cope," added Ms. Ruffinen.

## AFGHANISTAN

Savage  
stalemate



# The Destruction of Herat By the Soviet Invaders

Herat, Afghanistan's second city, which played an important role in Islamic history, has been destroyed by Soviet forces. It has been the scene of continuous clashes since the Soviet sponsored coup of April 1978 that brought the communist Khalq and Parcham parties to power. During the past six years Muslims have seen their city destroyed as well as the villages to the west on the border with Iran. For a distance of 150 kms. not a single village is left standing after the Soviet bombardments. All water wells were blocked when wet cement was poured into them; springs and reservoirs are poisoned; streams lie choked with sand and orchards and crops have been burned. The green valley of Herat, once the bread basket of Inner Asia, has been turned into a moonscape with the desert encroaching on to the irrigated land.

In late July and August this year several battles broke out between the Mujahideen on the one hand, and the Soviets and their Afghan forces on the other. One battle which lasted four hours involved as many as 65 Soviet tanks. About 32 tanks formed a column which started at the eastern end of the Bazaar Shahr-i Nau at the western end of Park-i cinema and moved through the bazaar to Darwaz-i Malik and then beyond. When the tanks were confined within the eastern and western limits of the Bazaar, the Mujahideen, who had positioned themselves on the rooftops of shops and houses after driving out the government militia, opened fire on the enemy. Thirty-two tanks of various sizes were destroyed with their personnel. The Mujahideen also demolished other tanks in villages to the west of the city in the same battle. Like many other Soviet maneuvers to encircle and cut off the Mujahideen it too ended in failure.

The Soviet strategy is simple. Tanks are stationed in a circle eight to ten kms. in diameter. They are then

driven towards the city in ever decreasing circles. In the process they destroy every living thing in their path. This drive is backed up by chemical spraying, aerial bombs, long-range artillery fire from the mountains north of Herat and rocket attacks from Zalmaykut army base in the east and the Soviet occupied Herat airport in the south. Hundreds of villages to the west near the border with Iran have been destroyed in this way. Few people other than the Mujahideen are now left there.

Soviet tanks moved into Shahr-i Nau days before the battle, having first positioned the Afghan forces. Usually they prefer to stay to the east of the city. But the government was certain that it could destroy the Afghan resistance on this occasion. Before the arrival of the Soviets, however, the Mujahideen had decimated the Afghan forces, putting to flight the survivors. So when the Soviets reached the scene of battle, they walked into an ambush. Not a single tank or occupant remained.

The Soviets, reacting to another total defeat, once again went on a rampage of destruction. They burned more than two thousand shops in Shahr-i Nau. Not a shop, house or vendor's stall was spared. Whatever the flamethrowers could reach the avenging communists set on fire. Hundreds of innocent men, women and children were killed. The blaze lasted several days. Now the burned city of Herat stands as a monument to the brutality of the forces of occupation. Herat is no longer able to function as a city. Its mosques are empty as are its shops with neither artisans nor merchants to be seen. It has become a dead city for the second time in history: in the thirteenth century it was destroyed by the Mongols; now by the mighty Red Army.

The commercial activities of the few people who remain

in Herat Province are now concentrated in an area east of the concrete highway, north of Hari-rud, south of Kuhi-Shaydai, and Kuhi Takhti-Safar and west of Zalmaykut. In all, this amounts to 150-200 villages in an area of 6 to 8 square kms. The people are fleeing into this parcel of land where power is not in the hands of the Soviets nor of the Afghan government. This area is divided between many warlords: former thieves, murderers, gamblers and smugglers who are paid by the Soviets to keep 'peace' at any cost and they are armed by the regime. The warlords have their own militias: some occupy a village each; others have more than one. There is a hierarchy of warlords.

The cleverest and the most brutal of these *zamin qaykardaha*, which literally translates as vomit form the earth, becomes the Khan of Khans, the lord of lords. He travels in a jeep protected by 50 armed motorcyclists and holds court in his village where fear rules. One day he will kill innocent people by the score in the most barbaric manner, while the next day he can order the building of a mosque or the restoration of a saint's grave. He is impulsive, capricious and cruel. But the villages under his control are, for the time being, immune from Soviet bombardments and Afghan government supervision.

The Soviets and the Khat regime have bypassed the usual governmental organs necessary to run a society. Herat, the provincial governor and the judges have no power. They and their attendant bureaucracies simply collect their salaries every month. The governing power in Herat rests with four groups: the secret Soviet police, KGB, and its Afghan counterpart, the KHAD, the regime's militia, Fedayeen controlled by nominally autonomous landlords and the Mujahideen, who in fact control the rest of the province.

The alien and the local secret police handle duties which should be dealt with by other government departments. After a person is arrested, his interrogation, torture and sentencing are carried out in a purpose-built unit appropriately designed with sound proof rooms and execution facilities. The KGB and KHAD together also handle other matters such as real estate transactions between the Afghans and the KHAD when, for instance, a farmer's land is needed for housing its agents. Only a KHAD approved transaction can go ahead. Often KHAD and the Fedayeen take over people's houses after driving out the owners.

The policy of terrorizing the Afghan people to drive them out of their homes and lands is officially inspired. The Heratis have lost thousands of houses and tens of thousands of hectares of their land. In fact the Soviet strategy of depopulating the countryside was first put into effect in Herat. The expulsion of more than four million people from Afghanistan into neighboring Pakistan and Iran is evidence of the effectiveness of this communist strategy.

KAYHAN INT'L  
12/22 & 12/29

## NEWS IN BRIEF

A startling admission of the inability of the Karmal regime to win the support of the people in Afghanistan was made in a Moscow radio broadcast by correspondent Boris Savodan on September 4 1985. "Those for whose sake the April Revolution was carried out seven years ago", he observed "not infrequently turn out to be among the ranks of the bandits".

Al Falah 12/85

# Karmal regime under internal pressure

M.I. Lashkar

THE sketchy news coming recently from Afghan capital that certain members of the politburo of the Afghan Communists Party have been removed has not been taken very seriously by observers outside Afghanistan, as it is generally considered a part of the usual political manoeuvrings of Babrak Karmal who has to depend on them for his own stability.

But for those who have deep insight into Afghan affairs, the removal of Khalq Party members from the politburo of the Communist Party is due to the friction that exists between the Khalq and Parcham factions which have merged into the Afghan People's Party (Communist party) only superficially. It is also because of the fact that there are dissenting voices in the politburo who do not support the total surrender of the Afghan sovereignty to the Russian overlords by the Babrak Karmal regime.

The news about the removal of the politburo members published in Pakistan was sketchy and does not offer any scope for studying its implications. But some details of the episode which I was able to collect from Afghan sources in Peshawar could unfold, to some extent, the inner story of the Afghan Communist Party which is otherwise an artificially knit body of multifarious interests. According to the details, Gen. Abdul Qadir, Ghulam Dastgir Panjsheri and Ismail Danish were removed from the politburo. Those who were removed from the politburo had been Ministers in the Afghan cabinet at different times. Gen. Abdul Qadir was former Minister for Defence while Ghulam Dastgir was Minister for Works and Ismail Danish was Minister for Industries and Mineral Development. They had been earlier removed from their cabinet posts at different times.

Gen. Abdul Qadir, who was Dagarwa? (Brigadier) at the time of communist revolution, conducted the military operation during the Saur Revolution in April 1978 and since then he became a headache for the successive communist regimes in Afghanistan. After the revolution, Gen. Qadir wanted his due share of power in the regime of Noor Mohammad Tarakki, but as he was not obliged, he joined hands with Hafizullah Amin against Noor Mohammad Tarakki. Similarly, during the regime of Hafizullah Amin, he was not happy and he went to the side of Babrak Karmal. Now in the regime of Babrak Karmal, he was first removed from the cabinet and then from the party politburo. The Afghan sources who claim knowledge of inner tussles say that the friction between Babrak Karmal and Gen. Abdul Qadir is also due to differences of opinion over the status of the Afghan military forces vis-à-vis the power and jurisdiction of the Russian soldiers in Afghanistan. Gen. Abdul Qadir is stated to have been demanding a semblance of independence of the Afghan forces which is being denied by the Babrak Karmal regime under the Russian influence and control. It is in this background that Gen. Abdul Qadir was ousted from the axis of power.

As regards the other two members who were removed from the politburo, they belong to the Khalq factions of the Communist Party and they are among the last of the members of the Khalq faction who are being removed from the echelons and corridors of power to ultimately make the Afghan Communist Party solely an affair of the Parcham faction for the obvious reason of its unconditional allegiance to the Russian overlords. This is further corroborated by the fact that those who have been appointed politburo members in place of those who have been removed, are all Parchamians and belong to the hard

core of the Parcham faction. They are Suleman Laiq, Maj. Gen. Dr. Najib and Engineer Nazar Mohammad. Among them, Dr. Najib was the chief of Khad, the Afghan intelligence agency, while Suleman Laiq and Engineer Nazar Mohammad are Minister for Frontier and Tribal Affairs and Minister for Jihad respectively. It is obvious that the offices held by these three persons are connected with or that way with those affairs which have direct bearing on the communist regime's defence against the resistance movement launched by the Afghan Mujahideen. Their inclusion in the politburo of the Communist Party may be a further step in stepping up the operation against the Mujahideen...

Besides power tussle, the Khalqis and Parchamis differ in approach, although both of them are basically communists. The Khalqis are greater in number and the party is relatively organised with nationalistic goals within the framework of communism. It is because of this that it has attracted the nationalist elements. It is also because of this nationalistic bias that the Khalqis have been trying to maintain a semblance of independence in the internal affairs of the country since the days of Noor Mohammad Tarakki and this is why they are incurring the displeasure of the Russians. It is because of this that the Khalqis are not only being ousted from the base of power in Kabul, but are also being put into jails.

It is because of this nationalistic approach that the hard core Khalqis have been trying to maintain also a semblance of Afghan cultural ethos in the party ideology. The main body of the Khalqis are composed of Pushto-speaking Pathans who naturally try to maintain the spirit and practices of Pakhtoonwali, the unwritten code of Pathan ethics. This is why, the Khalq party has neither the activists nor members among the girls and women, nor does it entertain outrageous practices in the party activities like public singing and dancing by Afghan girls in mixed gatherings. The Khalqis however differ basically from the Islamic parties of Afghanistan on their different approaches to Islamic values. The Islamic parties uphold the Islamic values

while the Khalqis uphold only the Afghan values and that makes a world of difference compelling the Islamic parties to treat the Khalqis as arch-enemy of Islam as the Parchamis themselves are.

The Parchamis on the other hand are mainly composed of the Persian-speaking urbanites who were exposed to communism easily with least attachment to national ethos. And so their commitment to communist ideology is unconditional. And that is why, aditional. And that is why a major part of the composed of urban women and modern girls who had the least hesitation while going away from the Islamic practice of keeping a respectable distance from men and so they could easily indulge themselves in singing and dancing in public in mixed gatherings. In the Parcham party, the main body of the party activists are women members who are widely used for keeping track of the dissidents in the most elaborate intelligence network of Khad and also for enticing away the Afghan youths into the fold of Parcham party...

Khad, Maj. Gen. Dr. Najib has also been appointed the Secretary-General of Khalq party. With his appointment, the Khalq party would be deprived of the hard core Khalqis and would be replaced by Parchamians. But it is to see as to how the hard core Khalqis react to it. PT 12/20

(See also "Internal Feuds" on p. 16)



Abdul Qadir

# Fighting in Afghanistan Spurred Flow of Carpets Abroad

PESHAWAR, Pakistan — Sitting amid stacks of deep red carpets lining the walls of his cramped shop, Abdul Rasul had some difficulty understanding the question.

"Does the war stop the carpet trade from Afghanistan?"

Rasul, whose shop is hidden in a corner of the largest Afghan carpet depot Peshawar, repeated to make sure he heard correctly.

"Oh, maybe for a few days if there's some fighting on the road," he finally conceded, "but then the trucks race through again."

Peshawar, the main base for Muslim rebels fighting the Soviet-backed Afghan government in Kabul, now probably has more Afghan rugs than it does refugees from the 6-year-old war.

Hand-knotted carpets sold to rich Afghans and tourists in Kabul before the war have been pouring into Pakistan ever since. The better pieces are shipped off to Islamabad or abroad, the rest left on the local market.

Judging by the steady flow of rugs, from fine red Beshiris woven near the Soviet border to rough gaudy Baluchis from the Iranian frontier, the Afghan carpet industry is as stubborn in business as the Islamic Mujahdeen fighters are in battle.

Peasant weavers continue their trade in rebel-held and government-controlled areas of the "carpet belt" in northern and western Afghanistan. Relatives and dealers regularly ship or smuggle rugs out past Soviet army posts, guerrilla roadblocks and highway robbers.

## Customs Reports 60% Rise

The Pakistani border customs post in Torkham, at the top of the Khyber Pass on the main road from Kabul to Peshawar, even reported a 60 percent jump in carpets arriving in the past year.

These 5,000 or so carpets were only the legally declared imports arriving in Peshawar, after delivery trucks had paid a tax on leaving Kabul and "contributions" to rebels who stopped them on the way and duty at Peshawar.

Customs officials readily admit that far more are smuggled on camels and donkeys trekking over the hills, hidden under crates of fresh fruit sent through Torkham or brought in as the last worldly possessions of refugees fleeing Soviet and Afghan government bombing raids.

"Whenever I go to Kabul to buy carpets, I send them first by truck to Jalalabad, then I put them on donkeys to cross the border so we don't have to drive through Torkham and pay duty," said a middle-aged Kabul selling some worn Baluchi prayer rugs in the Saddam bazaar in Peshawar.

He asked that his name not be published, fearing that his modest business could be ruined.

## Haggling in Many Tongues

Most carpet sellers here speak only their native Persian or Pashto, unlike the better-educated refugees who bring rugs to the *Juma Bazaar* — Friday Market — in Islamabad and haggle with diplomats and other foreigners in English, French or German.

Where there's a will, however, there's a way. The latest method is to tap out a price on a pocket calculator, hold it up for the foreigner to see and howl if he tries to push the minus button.

The best sellers in Peshawar are the Beshiris, finely knotted rugs with repeating geometrical patterns over traditional red backgrounds. An average 3-foot-by-6-foot piece costs around \$250.

Beshiris are woven in Kunduz, a northern border province now known better for its many Soviet military installations and hair-raising stories of army atrocities told by frightened refugees.

Mohammad Javed, whose family has carpet shops in Pakistan, France, Italy and West Germany, said Beshiris and other pieces still are being produced and shipped down the 350-mile route from Kunduz through Kabul to Peshawar.

"We send in letters ordering the carpets — we specify color, size, everything — and we can still get them," said Javed, who sells some rugs in Peshawar and sends others to his live brothers in Western Europe.

Weaving still flourishes further west around Mazar-i-Sharif. Near Andkhoy, however, only 12 miles from the Soviet border, Turkoman and Uzbek tribes have stopped making large carpets on outdoor looms after too many of them became bombing targets.

"I saw seven women and children weavers who were killed in a bombing raid last March," an Andkhoy mullah (cleric) named Mohammad Sabar said. "Now they only make small carpets indoors."

Despite such problems, the supply of rugs to Kabul remains so good that

## INTERNAL FEUDS

Recent reports all point to intensifying hatreds within the Karmal puppet regime, and there are indications that opponents of Babrak Karmal attempted a coup in October 1985. These feuds reflect the antagonism between Parchamis, and Khalqi associates of Hafizullah Amin included in the Karmal regime at the instigation of Moscow, which seems not to recognise that this weakens Karmal's claim to head a regime qualitatively different from Amin's. The most dramatic development has been the removal of Dr Najibullah from the position of Head of KHADE, and his replacement by his deputy. A further pointer to these feuds is the despatch to the lowly position of Second Secretary at the Afghan Embassy in Libya of Barez Shafi. Shafi was Editor of the magazine *Khalq* in 1966, but supported Karmal when the PDPA split in 1967. He served as Minister for Information and Minister for Tourism and Transport in 1978-79 under Taraki and Amin. He survived the Soviet invasion, and by 1982 had become Vice-President of the Central Council of the so-called

"National Fatherland Front". Shafi's new Ambassador is reportedly Mohammad Ismail Danesh, who had been Minister for Mines and Industry from his appointment to that post by Taraki in 1978, until late 1985. In late December 1985, Karmal was reported to have secured the services of "non-communists" to act as "ministers" in his regime. This ruse is not a new one: Mohammad Khan Jalal, long believed to be a KGB agent, has been a "non-communist" member of Karmal's puppet regime ever since the Soviet invasion. **AL FALAH 12/85**



Najibullah,

Haji Mohammad Rafiq who once ran a carpet shop near the main street of the capital, fled only 2 months ago, after the army threatened to draft him for the second time.

"For me, Kabul was good because the European buyers didn't come anymore," he said in his new shop in the Saadat Market depot here. "I sent carpets by air freight to Germany, Saudi Arabia, London and by truck to Peshawar."

Kabul's shops are now haunted by young Soviet soldiers with neither the knowledge, nor the interest needed to buy good carpets, he complained.

"They came in, but they didn't buy," said Rafiq, an Uzbek from Andkhoy.

"They sold us guns, clothes, food and spare parts, but they didn't want to spend their money on carpets."

"They were more interested in heroin and hashish."



Barez Shafie

NYCT 1/9

United Press International

# Soviet Forces to Withdraw From Afghanistan

ISLAMABAD, Dec. 14 (Dispatches) — The leader of the Jamiat-i Islami (Islamic Society) of Afghanistan, Burhaneddin Rabbani, speaking in Peshawar Friday, said that according to reliable sources, the Soviet government will pull out its forces from Afghanistan next year.

Rabbani, quoting informed sources said that the Soviet defense ministry has sent a letter to Afghan government noting that Soviet forces are no longer able to fight against the Afghan Muslim Mujahideen.

The Soviet officials have also informed Babrak Karmal that in 1986 they would not continue to maintain security of Karmal's government and, therefore, will leave the responsibility for the Afghan government, he added.

Rabbani warned Muslim Mujahideen against any schism and said that the enemies were after such vicious plans.

## US, USSR negotiate Afghan pullout Plan reportedly calls for 'neutral' Afghanistan and Pakistan

By Louis Winitzer  
Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Paris

The Soviet Union and the United States are working on a behind-the-scenes deal that would result in the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan.

The Soviets submitted the confidential plan to UN Undersecretary-General Diego Cordovez in December, say three senior diplomats who are closely involved in indirect Afghan-Pakistani negotiations on ending the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Mr. Cordovez, who mediates the talks, then passed the plan on to senior US officials.

Under the Soviet plan, these diplomats say, the US and its allies, mainly Pakistan, would stop providing arms and other support to the *mujahideen* (Afghan guerrillas) as soon as the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan begin withdrawing. These two issues — foreign aid to the *mujahideen*, who oppose the Soviet-backed government in Kabul, and the timing of a Soviet pullout — have been the main stumbling blocks to resolving the crisis.

"The prospective US-Soviet deal puts a double buffer in place," says one diplomat whose country is a party to the talks. "Afghanistan and Pakistan will remain independent and sovereign under the double Moscow-Washington umbrella. . . Both are now front-line states and will be turned into a military glacier."

In effect, "Afghanistan will become an Islamic Finland and Pakistan an Islamic Austria," says one UN diplomat. Both countries would become politically "neutral," but Afghanistan would stay in the Soviet sphere of influence while Pakistan would keep its links with the West, he says. . .

Official details regarding such a deal are to be expected at this stage, says the UN diplomat, because neither side wants its bargaining position to be undermined before the final handshake on an agreement takes place. Both Moscow and Washington need to keep their options open until the last minute, he says.

Once the Soviets and the US have hammered out the details according to their satisfaction, Afghanistan and Pakistan will sign the final agreement, the diplomats say. This accord would put into effect a three-point package to which they have already subscribed:

- Guarantee by the Soviet Union and the US that the agreement will be observed. The US officially offered to provide a written guarantee for implementing the terms of an accord last December.

- A pledge of noninterference by foreign powers in internal Afghan affairs.

- Allowing the estimated 3 to 4 million Afghan refugees to return home.

The Soviet troops would be withdrawn from Afghanistan within six months of signing the agreement, the sources say.

"Essentially, the unspoken US-Soviet agreement makes for the return of Afghanistan to its *status quo antes* — the way it was before the Soviet invasion six years ago," says a Western diplomat closely involved in the negotiations.

"The KGB Soviet secret police rather than the Soviet military forces will have to try to run things in Afghanistan to the satisfaction of Moscow," this diplomat continues. "This could be done by replacing the present hard-line Afghan regime by more flexible, more pragmatic communists. . . It may be only window dressing but it will be more palatable to Western public opinion than the presence of Soviet tanks in Kabul. . ."

Informed sources say Mr. Gorbachev will not be able to finalize this agreement before the end of the Soviet Communist Party Congress, beginning Feb. 25, where he is expected to consolidate his position. Therefore the next round of Geneva talks could be postponed until mid-March.

There is no guarantee that all the Afghan guerrillas will agree to lay down their arms and be a party to this deal. But the Soviets believe that once the *mujahideen* stop receiving outside aid they can be gradually brought under control by the Afghan Army. The Soviets hope they can corrupt some of the resistance leaders into entering a coalition government. In sum, they think they can manage things and allow the dust to settle. This is the view held by several Western and Asian sources.

Some resistance leaders in the Panjshir Valley area have already agreed in principle to be parties to such a settlement, say Pakistani sources.

Without US support and amid international indifference, other groups that continue fighting would be an irritant rather than a threat, Soviet sources say.

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

FEBRUARY 14, 1986



THE MUSLIM 1/19



JANUARY 23, 1986

# Soviet Advisers Would Stay if Peace Came, Afghan Says

By Tom Heneghan  
Reporter

KABUL, Afghanistan, Jan. 22—Even if a peace settlement is worked out, several thousand Soviet military advisers will stay in Afghanistan to help in the battle against anticommunist guerrillas, Afghan Foreign Minister Shah Mohammed Dost said today.

He also said that the solution to ending the conflict depends on neighboring Pakistan, which the guerrillas use as a sanctuary, and the United States.

Dost told visiting western journalists he had not suggested to United Nations mediator Diego Cordovez that Soviet troops could be withdrawn within a year, as was reported in the U.S. press after the latest round of indirect talks with Pakistan in Geneva last month. But he said that Kabul would work out a withdrawal schedule with Moscow and offer it on a take-it-or-leave-it basis as part of an overall settlement to the six-year war.

The U.N.-mediated talks, which began in 1982, center on ending U.S., Pakistani, Chinese and Arab aid to the rebels, Soviet and U.S. guarantees that the accord will be honored, the return of about 4.5 million refugees from Pakistan and Iran and the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan.

Kabul and Islamabad have been negotiating through Cordovez because Pakistan does not recognize the government of President Babrak Karmal.

Dost said Afghanistan had several thousand Soviet military advisers even before the 1978 Communist coup that preceded Moscow's intervention the following year.

"This is a completely different question," he said, explaining that the advisers would not leave with what Kabul calls Moscow's limited military contingent. He declined to give a total for Soviet troops here, which western countries estimate at 115,000.

Asked about a troop withdrawal, he said: "I have not given any hint to the representative of the [U.N.] secretary general, Mr. Cordovez, or to anybody that the Soviet limited contingent might withdraw within one year or so."

He said he discussed the relationship between the withdrawal and the three other points in the proposed settlement with Cordovez, but insisted that details of the pullout were strictly an Afghan-Soviet issue.

Dost, who will resume the indirect talks

with Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan in late February or early March, said he had no objections to giving a troop withdrawal schedule as long as Islamabad showed its sincerity by agreeing to meet for talks. "But it will not be negotiable," he said.

He said some rebels might continue fighting even after the arms flow was cut off from Pakistan, but added: "That will not be a problem."

"We are not hiding the fact we have some problems [with the rebels]," the foreign minister said. "There are some pockets of counterrevolution here and there where they resort to terrorist activity. We believe this is not so unusual."

Dost rejected a proposed peace-keeping force made up of troops from Islamic countries, saying there would be no need for this after an agreement and that Pakistan was not asking for it in the Geneva talks.

Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev said the Soviets "want to see a very fast and accelerated solution to the whole problem but now it depends on Pakistan and the United States," Dost told the news conference. "If the United States really shows interest in solving this problem of course it can persuade the Pakistanis."

The foreign minister said the current dispute between Kabul and Islamabad over Pakistan's decision to occupy part of the traditionally autonomous tribal area on its side of the border should not affect the Geneva talks.

Kabul accuses Islamabad of killing large numbers of Pashtun tribesmen in a drive to extend its control over the lawless area. Pakistan has reported only a few deaths since troops moved into the Khyber Pass area in early December.

Dost said that his government would like to open peace talks with Iran, either within the Geneva framework or separately, to improve relations with Tehran.

Iran, which supports some Shiite rebel groups fighting in the central Hozarajat region, has refused to participate in the Geneva talks because it says the refugees are not represented there.

A village-by-village survey conducted by the Paris-based International Federation of Human Rights revealed that the depopulation ratio has already reached 56.4 percent. This means more than half the population of Afghanistan has fled, joining more than 3 million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and 1.5 million in Iran. **NYCT 1115**

## Soviet Veterans of Afghan War Gain Power in Kremlin

By ALBERT L. WEEKS  
New York City Tribune Staff

2/18

Moscow appears to view the war in Afghanistan not as its "Vietnam" but as a valuable testing ground for officers, tactics and weapons, despite little progress on the battlefield and critical world opinion.

A prime indicator of this is a new Soviet military "power group" forming in the Kremlin made up of senior officers "trained" in that war, according to a recent issue of *Jane's Defence Weekly*.

These senior officers, who held commands in military districts (MDs) bordering Afghanistan or who oversaw the war effort there, are the ones who have been promoted recently to commanding positions in other key MDs, to the leadership of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, to leading positions within the Main Political Administration of the Armed Forces, the organization of "political commissars," or to staff positions in Moscow.

The present minister of defense himself, Marshal Sergei L. Sokolov, supervised the southern umbrella theater command that includes the Afghanistan war front at the time the Soviets executed their invasion 7 years ago.

Today's preference for military commanders with Afghanistan-related line or staff experience proves that no stigma attaches to a given officer's involvement in what appears, perhaps falsely, in the West to be a bogged-down, "Vietnam-like" war against the Afghan people.

Officers who have held positions in such southern commands as the Turkistan MD, bordering Afghanistan, have lately been promoted to higher line and staff positions in Moscow and elsewhere. At the same time, the Turkistan MD has been greatly expanded, *Jane's* says, since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979.

Significantly, the new commander-in-chief of the Soviet Rocket Forces was the commander in 1978-85 of this Afghanistan-related MD, Col.-Gen. Y.P. Maximov, soon to be promoted to marshal. Maximov replaced the just-retired former Rocket Forces commander, Marshal Vasily F. Tolubko, who once served as Far Eastern MD chief.

Maximov, adds *Jane's*, "has benefited from his involvement [in the Afghan war] perhaps more than any other Soviet officer. His key role in supervising the Afghan garrison, and the honors he received for carrying it out, suggest that Moscow is well pleased."

# Moles in high places

Afghan generals held for helping guerrillas

By Husain Haqqani in Islamabad

**S**oviet occupation forces in Afghanistan have apparently adopted new procedures to guard military secrets after the arrest of four, possibly five, Afghan generals on charges of passing information to anti-Soviet guerrillas.

Plans for Soviet troop movements are now withheld from even senior Afghan officers until only four hours before an operation commences.

Western diplomatic sources say the Soviets are trying to plug high-level leaks to the mujahideen at all costs, even if it means relegating Kabul government forces to a lesser role in the six-year war with the mujahideen resistance. Four Afghan generals were reported to have been arrested in Kabul on 5 December 1985 for supplying military information to mujahideen commander Ahmed Shah Massoud, who leads the resistance in the strategic Panjsher Valley, north of the Afghan capital. Some rumours put the number of arrested generals at five.

Massoud's Jamiat-e-Islami resistance group said in Peshawar it knew only of the arrest of one Kandahar corps commander, Lieut-Gen. Shahbaz Kohistani, who led a recent anti-guerrilla sweep in the Shumali area south of Panjsher. Dozens of Soviets and at least 100 Afghan Government troops were killed in the operation, which began on Christmas Day, and Kohistani was accused of deliberately mishandling the operation. But the resistance, which boasts of "excellent inside information" on Soviet military plans, refused to confirm it had any ties with Kohistani or any of the other arrested generals.

The arrest of the generals reflects the extent of the Soviets' internal security problem in Afghanistan. As one diplomat explained: "It means the Soviets cannot trust their Afghan communist allies and seriously undermines any plans they may have had of enhancing the Afghans' role in wiping out the mujahideen." Some resistance leaders claim their sympathisers and informants include Soviet officers and men. "It is impossible for the occupation army to completely seal off information from the mujahideen," observed Gulbeddin Hekmatyar, chief of Hizbe Islami — one of the largest mujahideen resistance groups. He added: "Our intelligence comes not from mercenaries but from people who believe the Soviets to be wrong, and this includes Turkic and Russian soldiers in the Soviet army."

**M**assoud is believed to have reliable sources in the Afghan Defence Ministry who have regularly informed him of Soviet troop movements and invasion plans. During the past five years, the Soviets have launched several offensives to flush out Massoud's guerrillas, who threaten traffic along the highway from Kabul to the Soviet Union.

Inside information has enabled the guerrilla leader to survive three assassination attempts prior to the massive spring 1984 offensive in which the Soviets established their presence in the southern part of the Panjsher Valley. Since then there have been several reported arrests of mujahideen informants in the Afghan defence establishment. An army captain was executed in June 1985 at Bagram Air Base



Guerrilla with Soviet-made gun: tribal ties.

on charges of spying for the resistance.

Afghan army officers pass on information to Massoud and other guerrilla commanders mainly out of sympathy for their cause or due to tribal and family ties. In some cases, government and guerrilla commanders exchange information on the basis of local agreements to minimise losses.

Reports of the December 1985 arrests of Afghan generals followed fresh fighting in the Panjsher area. Western diplomatic sources said the Soviets were trying to use the normal winter lull in fighting to establish posts along mujahideen supply routes to the valley from Pakistan. Mujahideen sources claim the Soviets have so far failed in their objec-

tive of removing the guerrilla presence from Panjsher valley and they expect recent operations to be followed soon by a major Soviet offensive.

In another development, tension between the Khalq and Parcham factions of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA) has increased. Diplomats reported three gunfights in Kabul in early January between the rival communist factions, including a shoot-out outside the presidential palace.

President Babrak Karmal's Parcham faction, which was installed in power by the Soviets in 1979, has consolidated its hold by easing out Khalq members of the PDPA leadership, and the Khalqis are believed to be resisting their group's elimination. Following recent factional fighting, the number of Soviet armoured vehicles guarding the presidential palace has been increased to six, though previously only one such vehicle was assigned the task.

FAR EASTERN ECONOMIC REVIEW • 30 JANUARY 1986

## Movement to get Afghan refugees out

**RAWALPINDI,** A leader of Qaumi Mahaz-i-Azadi, Mr. Iqbal Haider said his party will soon launch a countrywide movement to get Afghan refugees out whose long presence, he said, has created numerous social, financial and political issues in Pakistan.

Mr. Iqbal Haider told Pressmen frequent bloody clashes in the country's academic institutions and considerable rise in the number of drug addicts were result of Afghan's infiltration. The Pakistan Government, which seems to be helpless against their subversive activities, did not take any legal action simply because the Afghans had access to Pakistan's President and the Prime Minister.

AFGHAN NEWS March  
(original source not  
not cited)

From the editor:

There is a lot of fine print in this issue. We hope you have a magnifying glass - and a shovel wouldn't hurt.

In summary, the border tribes are being kept in a constant state of agitation &, presumably, are profiting from the experience; bombs are going off in Peshawar & environs; Babrak has taken Soviet advice to put non-party members in some high gov't positions; Soviet withdrawal plans appear & disappear as preparations for the next round of Geneva talks get underway; a mild winter in Afghanistan has allowed the fighting to proceed without interruption; Iran is being sweet to everyone (the US & Iraq excepted); & some Europeans are resisting a US proposal to create a Pakistani super agency to coordinate all Afghan relief activities. The Europeans resent what they see as a US-throw-money-&-leap-before-you-look tendency even though some Europeans get US gov't greenbacks for their programs.

In the May issue we would like to include a section on Afghan restaurants. Does your area have one? Can you tell us about it (them) or send us copies of reviews. The deadline for the next issue is April 15.

We may see copies of the Kabul New Times shortly & we hope to include samples of its prolix prose in the next FORUM.

Nawroz greetings to all our readers.

## EVENTS

"War in Afghanistan & the Plight of the Afghan Family - The Impact of Warfare & Flight on a Traditional Society's Family Structure, Cultural Values, Societal Norms & Sense of Nationhood" is the title of a conference organized by the Georgetown University Center for Strategic & Int'l Studies in Washington, D.C., for March 20. Participants will include Ishaq Nadiri, Nazif Shahrani, Nancy & Louis Dupree, Grant Farr, Tom Couttierre, Paul Goble, Steven Keller, Pamela Hunte, Johan Lagerfeld, Bashir Zikria, Thomas Thornton, Olivier Roy & Thomas Barfield.

Shah Wali Taranasaz will perform "Music of Afghanistan" in the Uris Auditorium of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City on March 23 at 2:30 p.m. The concert is jointly sponsored by the World Music Institute & the Society for Asian Music. Admission is \$8.

"Issues in Russian Relations with its Islamic Populations & Islamic Neighbors" is the title of conference to be held March 1 at the University of Pennsylvania. Speakers include Tamara Sonn, Michael Lenker, Shahrough Akhavi, Daniel Matuszewski & Zalmay Khalilzad.

The New York Organizers of the Afghan Refugee Fund will hold a benefit on April 2 at the Khyber Pass restaurant in New York City. The evening will include Afghan food, music & brief talks by Daria Fane, filmmaker, & Roger Helms, who was in Afghanistan last fall. Tickets are \$30 of which \$15 is tax deductible. Reservations are required. Call (212) 995-6235 by March 7.

The NY Conference on Asian Studies will take place on October 17 & 18 at the State Univ. of New York at New Paltz. Call Ronald Knapp at (914) 257-2356 by March 15 if you have a proposal for a panel or a paper.

The Afghan Foundation is working on, among other things, a "March to Kabul for Peace in Afghanistan" project. The Foundation proposes that Afghans & others concerned with Afghani-

continued on p. 30



# Rebels' Backers on Hill Press Aid Issue

By David B. Ottaway  
Washington Post Staff Writer

Congressional supporters of the resistance movement to the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, backed by outside lobbying groups, are pressuring the Reagan administration to improve the effectiveness of its military aid to the guerrillas and end its ban on the delivery of American-made arms, particularly antiaircraft weapons.

These congressmen also are seeking to get the administration to name a high-level White House presidential adviser to coordinate U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and the expanding American aid to the rebels. The Central Intelligence Agency, the Agency for International Development and the Pentagon each has its own program.

One of the chief charges being leveled against the administration by U.S. supporters of the Afghan guerrilla struggle is that Washington's policy has no

clear objectives. The critics are charging the White House has never made up its mind whether it wants a clear-cut Afghan guerrilla victory or a low-level campaign of harassment of the Soviet Union.

Outside analysts and even some administration officials concede that six years after the start of the U.S. aid, American objectives remain ambiguous—caused by Washington's concern over the Soviet reaction to a more direct U.S. involvement and by caution in Pakistan toward the conflict.

Despite this ambiguity, the U.S. commitment to the guerrilla forces has grown steadily. While the level of funding for the CIA's Afghan operation remains a secret, congressional and other sources say the House and Senate intelligence committees initially approved \$470 million for covert military assistance last spring for the current fiscal year.

Later, there were reports that Congress had ap-

proved a supplemental \$300 million in aid over two years. It is not clear whether the supplement is reflected in the \$470 million figure or is in addition to it.

Congress now has approved \$15 million in annual humanitarian assistance, which AID will administer, and another \$10 million for the Defense Department to cover the cost of transporting such nonlethal items as clothes and blankets to Pakistan for Afghan refugees.

While President Reagan repeatedly has stressed his commitment to the Afghan resistance, the main thrust for steady increases in aid has come from Congress. According to a former Senate Select Intelligence Committee staff member, the committee each year has doubled the administration's initial request.

Unlike divisive debates over the administration's desire to provide covert military aid to rebel groups fighting the Sandinista government in Nicaragua or Marxist rule in Angola, Congress has achieved consensus on providing more assistance to the Afghan rebels. This has made the administration nervous about the implications for its relations with Moscow.

Administration spokesmen defend the current program as a major success, citing the ability of Afghan guerrillas to fight the estimated 113,000 Soviet troops stationed in Afghanistan to a stalemate and claiming that they have shot down nearly 800 aircraft—a figure met with some skepticism by independent observers.

The spokesmen say the United States is doing all it can, given its dependence on Pakistan to funnel aid to the rebels, and that the administration's general caution only reflects Pakistan's.

"We have a right to be cautious. We're dealing with another sovereign country and it could blow up in our face," said one U.S. official.

The administration's critics also charge a lack of direct U.S. control over the delivery of U.S.-purchased arms, which, U.S. critics and guerrilla leaders alike charge, has resulted in many weapons not getting through to the battlefield.

Some congressmen also are complaining that the CIA, in the absence of a clearly stated White House objective in Afghanistan, is making policy on its own. "It's so damn obscure what the policy is. There is no clear objective," said Sen. Malcolm Wallop (R-Wyo.), adding that CIA Deputy Director John McMahon "has told me [U.S. aid] cannot be too successful."

Wallop and Sen. Gordon J. Humphrey (R-N.H.) have been instrumental in lobbying the administration for a clearer, all-out commitment to an Afghan guerrilla victory.

Other congressional sources said McMahon had argued before the House and Senate intelligence committees last year against provision of American antiaircraft weapons or a much larger covert program, saying the administration was concerned they might provoke the Soviets into retaliating against Pakistan and believed authorities there would not agree to either.

Rep. Charles Wilson (D-Tex.) asserted that the CIA and McMahon are taking "a bum rap" and that the agency is doing "as much as is humanly possible within the parameters of our policy—which is no Americans and no American arms" involved in the conflict.

"The president has got to decide on a change," said Wilson.

Administration officials say they see no reason to change the present declared policy, which one said calls for "a complete withdrawal of Soviet forces within a fixed and reasonable length of time" and establishment of an Afghan government acceptable to the Afghan people.

They do admit, however, that the U.S. commitment to a negotiated settlement and interest in recent Soviet feelers about a possible withdrawal timetable have raised questions, at least in the minds of Afghan rebel leaders, about whether Washington might not be ready to sacrifice the resistance to a compromise.

Supporters here of the Afghan resistance say the administration should drop its ban on the provision of U.S. antiaircraft arms, citing this and the prohibition of direct U.S. arms deliveries as the chief obstacles to a more effective military aid program.

They argue that some kind of U.S. antiaircraft weapon has now become essential to enable the guerrillas to fend off the heavily armored Soviet helicopters that have become the bane of the resistance. Right now, the chief rebel antiaircraft weapon is the Soviet-made, heat-seeking SA7 missile.

Congressional and other sources close to the resistance say 10 Swiss-made, 20-mm. Oerlikon antiaircraft cannons purchased for the rebels by the CIA are in use inside Afghanistan. Under pressure from Rep. Wilson, the CIA in mid-1984 reportedly set aside \$40 million largely to buy 40 Oerlikons, according to these sources.

But critics argue the 750-pound weapon is proving difficult to assemble and disassemble and ill-adapted to mountainous guerrilla fighting, which requires quick movement. Many want the administration to provide either the U.S.-made Redeye missile or the British Blowpipe, both of which they say are superior to the SA7.

One congressional source and a U.S. official hinted that the admin-

istration may already have decided to provide the Blowpipe, but there have been no reports of any arriving yet on the battlefield.

As for direct delivery of arms, U.S. supporters of the guerrillas argue this would prevent either the Pakistanis or Afghan guerrillas themselves from skinning any off. One proposal is for C130 air drops inside Afghanistan.

U.S. analysts both within and outside the administration say the key problem in monitoring deliveries is that the CIA has few agents on the ground in Pakistan to oversee the program or to contact directly the individual guerrilla groups to assess their needs.

Administration officials dismiss the idea of air drops as too risky both for Washington and Islamabad and say direct U.S. management of deliveries is a political impossibility because Pakistan insists for security and other reasons on controlling the flow of arms through that country.

As for a full-time White House coordinator of aid to the Afghan resistance, Sens. Wallop and Humphrey and former national security adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski have proposed this but gotten no response from the White House. "There is literally no one person of any authority spending all his time on Afghanistan in the administration," said Humphrey.

Administration sources said there is such a coordinator in Charles Dunbar, an aide to Assistant Secretary of State Richard W. Murphy. In addition, they said, Under Secretary for Political Affairs Michael H. Armacost chairs a Senior Interagency Group that has been set up to coordinate U.S. policy and programs toward Afghanistan.

Meanwhile, two conservative lobbying groups here for the Afghan guerrilla cause have launched a nationwide campaign to get CIA Deputy Director McMahon removed from office. They charge he has mishandled the U.S. covert aid program and made policy on his own by seeking to limit the quality of U.S.-purchased arms going to the rebels.

The organizations, Free the Eagle and the Federation for American Afghan Action, say the cam-

paign begun in late October has resulted in 10,000 to 12,000 letters being sent to White House Chief of Staff Donald Regan complaining about McMahon's performance.

The form letter charges that McMahon has failed "to carry out

effectively the Reagan administration's policy of effective aid to the Afghan freedom fighters" and asks that he either be dismissed or begin implementing the program better.

THE WASHINGTON POST  
JANUARY 16, 1986

## swords in our hands books for the peace

By Michael White

THE Abu-Hanifa school has few textbooks or pencils. It does have dummy automatic rifles and rocket-propelled grenade launchers, and even the youngest students frequently train with them.

The school, with an enrollment of more than 1,000 boys, is one of dozens operated in Pakistan by Afghan Mujahideen groups to teach young people the fundamentals of Islam and train them to fight Afghanistan's Soviet-supported Communist government.

"I want my country to be free. I want Islam to rule my country," said Nazir Ahmad, 13.

Before coming to the school two years ago, Ahmad said he spent three years as a courier for the Mujahideen in Herat province in western Afghanistan. When government troops attacked his village, he picked up a rifle and fired back, he said.

"Those people were helping Russian Communists. They were not innocent. They killed and tortured many people. They were Communists," he said.

The Afghan Education Committee, a private agency that provides educational assistance to refugees living in Pakistan, estimates that nearly 45,000 students, 94 percent of them male, are being educated in schools funded by resistance groups.

The UN High Commissioner for Refugees estimates there are 1.2 million school-age refugee children in Pakistan. Beyond the 45,000 students in resistance-funded schools, about 75,000 attend UN-sponsored or Pakistani schools.

Officially, the Pakistani government says the Mujahideen do not operate from Pakistan. However, resistance activities, such as military training, continue openly.

At the resistance-funded schools, the boys receive some rudimentary military training. Teenage boys are strongly encouraged to spend their three-month summer vacation in Afghanistan fighting with the Mujahideen.

Several days a week, Abu-Hanifa students march double-time from their school on the northern outskirts of Peshawar to a nearby field for training. Dressed in green combat fatigues and armed with wooden weapons, they learn basic firing positions and how to take cover.

At nearby Mujahid high school, also supported by resistance groups, military science is the most popular course, said Shah Alam Rafat, the principal. Of a typical graduating class of 45 students, about 30 will go to Afghanistan to fight. He said 10 students have been killed during summer excursions to the front.

"The purpose of this school is not to train students for jobs. The purpose is to further the revolution," he said. "The most important thing for us is to resist the crimes and cruelty of the Russians."

The students are taught such subjects as mathematics and science, in addition to Islamic courses. Military training is restricted to one hour a week. But as at Abu-Hanifa school, all instruction is aimed at preparing the student for the war. Students are taught that death is better than subjugation.

"I know the war has been difficult, but 100 percent I believe we will win," said Abdul Qahar, in his final year at the school.

The indoctrination of the young Mujahid begins early. At Abu-Hanifa, first graders are taught a song with the following lyrics:

**We are Mujahideen, we have swords in our hands.  
We are cutting the necks of the followers of Lenin and Marx.  
God is great.**

# Afghan War, After 6 Years, Becomes a Soviet Fact of Life

By SERGE SCHMEMANN

Special to The New York Times

MOSCOW, Feb. 17 — After six years, the Afghan war has begun coming home.

The outlines may be hazy — the size of the Soviet force, the scale of the fighting, the casualties and the Western reports of Soviet atrocities are not widely known here, or are dismissed as Western propaganda. Yet in conversations with Russians the war has become more familiar and tangible.

Although the Soviet Union has made no statistics public, hundreds of thousands of Soviet youths, most of them draftees, are known to have gone and returned from the dusty and dangerous mountains to the south. Thousands have been wounded and killed. Some have returned crippled, some troubled.

## Ways to Beat the Draft

High school seniors compare notes on ways to beat the draft while their mothers talk openly of their fears. Television broadcasts and newspapers carry reports of heroic feats and imperialist-backed bandits. But in the streets the talk is of danger, hashish and death. Many a Russian knows where there is a gravestone with the legend, "Killed fulfilling his internationalist duty."

A new slang has evolved — Afghanistan is "tam," "over there," and "Afghan" is the soldier who fought there. The rebels are "contras," after the rebels in Nicaragua, or "dushmans," for a Tadzhik word meaning "opponent, foe," to which the Russians now ascribe the meaning of "bandit."

"The war is not a social problem for us, the way Vietnam was for you," one Moscow writer said. "But it definitely has become a social reality. Everybody has heard how bad it can be over there, and nobody wants to go."

Although the figures are not made public, most people seem to agree that education deferments have become all but impossible to get. Draft-age youths speak with erudition of medical deferments and army units to avoid. One youth described how a classmate tried to feign madness, begging the draft board to send him to Afghanistan so he could start killing.

There are haunting echoes here, yet little in the Soviet attitude toward Afghanistan can compare with the American anguish over Vietnam. No public opposition here, no mass doubts, not even graffiti on the walls. The long habit of entrusting such matters to the Government, the shared sense of threat from abroad and the tight control on information have evidently combined to block most domestic dissent.

In official accounts, the Soviet force in Afghanistan remains a "limited contingent" doing its "internationalist duty" in an "undeclared war" begun by Western imperialism through reactionary rebels. Even news dispatches about the fighting bear the dateline "With the Limited Contingent of Soviet Forces in Afghanistan."

## Accounts of Combat Missions

Still, the Soviet coverage of the war has abandoned the early description of dedicated soldiers giving purely humanitarian assistance. Accounts these days talk of combat missions and pitched battles. In Geneva during the summit meeting, a Soviet official acknowledged that Soviet casualties were on the increase, although numbers have never been disclosed.

And the press has slowly come to publicize a domestic side to the war.

One recent report in Komsomolskaya Pravda, the paper of the Young Communist League, was strikingly different from anything written before. It told the story of Anatoly, a veteran who had returned to Togliatti, an industrial city on the Volga, profoundly affected by his Afghan service, racked with guilt for having survived and furious at the complacency, greed and shallowness he found back home.

It was a profile with echoes of "Coming Home," "The Deer Hunter," even "Rambo." The story presented Anatoly not as a victim of the war, but rather as a young man whose vision had been purified by the experience.

## Overwhelmed by the Poverty

In Afghanistan, Anatoly was overwhelmed by the poverty, the brutality, the resignation of the peasants, the violence. He watched a girl die of hunger, and was horrified at his helplessness. He was wounded, and several times came close to death.

"He says that now one of the most frightening things for him is the approach of night," wrote Aleksandr Drobotov, a criminal investigator, in the account of a meeting with Anatoly. "The distractions and concerns of the day fly off, and he is left alone with his thoughts and his conscience."

"He thinks that he was not always brave enough, that often he should have been killed, but always someone bolder than he was at his side," the account continued. "And now he carries out his self-imposed sentence. He was second in battle, he believes, and must now live for those who were first and stayed there forever."

"To this day Anatoly believes he did not have time to fully pay the bandits back. Already then he formed in his soul the distinction between 'us' and 'them,' or rather 'us' and 'the contras.' And as a rule, the contras had to be destroyed, or there would be another string of deaths, new grief."

## Appalled at Materialism

Returning home, Anatoly was appalled at the clamoring after blue jeans and music cassettes, the black marketeers and drunkards that now seemed almost a desecration of the suffering he had seen. In his mind, the corrupt became the new contras.

He had come to Mr. Drobotov to demand punishment for a black marketeer whose case the investigator had just dropped for lack of evidence, and he threatened to dispense justice himself if the authorities would not.

The investigator learned that there were others with Anatoly. "It was easier for them together," Mr. Drobotov wrote. "They found several others who had served 'Over There.' They meet at agreed places, they talk about the past, train, keep up their skills. They decided that too many contras — thieves, parasites — had sprouted, and that the Government would only gain if they dealt with the contras themselves."

The meeting, Mr. Drobotov wrote, profoundly affected him. Though he tried to explain to Anatoly the dangers of vigilantism, he found himself in awe of the veteran. "He brought that purity from the ringing revolutionary spring of Afghanistan, of which most of us have only the most distant perception," the investigator wrote.

Last month, Krasnaya Zvezda broke new ground by touching on one of the more sensitive realities, draft evasion. The newspaper, published by the military, focused on the city of Vladivostok, but it was clear that the article addressed a widespread problem.

It described a conscript who refused to enter the army even after spending a year in labor camp for draft evasion. Another had tried to avoid service by presenting a false medical certificate prepared by a friendly doctor. Yet another used connections in high places to stave off conscription. One young man avoided the draft because a cooperative theater hired him and immediately sent him off on a long tour.

"These cases are not typical of our life, of course," the paper said. "But we cannot close our eyes to them since, whatever else, they have an adverse influence on a certain section of young people and undermine their belief that the law is the same for one and all."

Replying to a question in Komsomolskaya Pravda, a World War II veteran drew a connection between the war and defending the homeland.

"There, in Afghanistan, our warriors, fulfilling their internationalist duty, are also defending their Ukrainian, Siberian, Kazakh homes," wrote the veteran, Gen. F. Makhaev.

It may not be a wholly convincing argument. But it is one that speaks of a commitment to see the war through to an end. Whatever reluctance there may be about serving in Afghanistan, or however skeptical they may be about the official accounts, most Russians seem to take it for granted that Soviet forces will stay in Afghanistan until it is pacified, as they did in the Caucasus and in Central Asia.

THE NEW YORK TIMES  
FEBRUARY 18

The Islamic Republic of Iran having gained valuable experience in the course of its struggle against the exploiters is duty-bound to help the oppressed nations liberate themselves against the yoke of imperialism.

The following are the IRI's initiatives in assisting liberation movements wage their continuing resistance against world tyrants.

We pray to Almighty God for the success of all just struggles of the oppressed.

## AFGHANISTAN

The Majlis foreign committee Dec. 27 said only the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the Soviet occupation army from Afghanistan would prevent U.S. interference there.

In a statement released here to mark the sixth anniversary of the occupation of Afghanistan, the committee said that current negotiations between Afghanistan and Pakistan will not solve the present crisis.

The negotiations are being held in Geneva under the supervision of the United Nations.

The committee said that the presence of the Soviet forces in Afghanistan has overshadowed expansion of relations between the Islamic Republic and the Soviet Union.

"The Islamic movement of the Afghan nation will convince the occupiers that their hegemonist efforts are fruitless", the committee said.

Also Iran's foreign ministry condemned military occupation of Afghanistan and stressed that "any decision on the fate of Afghan Muslims should only be made by the people of Afghanistan."

The statement reiterated Iran's full support of the struggles of Afghan Muslims.

### FROM THE HILLS - Tribal leader Wali Khan Kukukhel talks to The Muslim. Excerpts

from an interview by R. Yusufzai (2/1/86):

America is now up to mischief in our part of the world. In its efforts to destabilize Afghanistan, it is exposing us to the cross-fire. This policy of confrontation will only enhance Pakistan's insecurity.

#### On the role of the Soviet Union in the region.

Can you show me one single instance of the Shurawi's unfriendliness to the Islamic world? I have already enumerated the hostile acts of the Americans (against the Islamic countries). Shurawi are friends of the Arabs against Israel. Didn't they come to our rescue by arranging the Tashkent Agreement between India and Pakistan after the 1965 war to save us from defeat?

As for its intervention in Afghanistan, everybody is quick to blame the Shurawi. But why do they close their eyes to the unwarranted interference of seven other countries in Afghanistan - United States, Canada, United Kingdom, France, West Germany, China and Japan?

#### On the question of Afghan refugees

They haven't come here to wage a Jihad. They don't kill the Shurawi but their Muslim Afghan

brothers. The Ashahr kill, loot and create lawlessness in places where there are no Shurawi and Afghan soldiers. They destroy their country and its institutions and then claim to be freedom fighters.

Their long stay in Pakistan has threatened the country's security and created law and order problems. They are involved in the bomb blasts, which they explode with impunity in both Afghanistan and Pakistan. Look at the Peshawar (PIA building) explosion. It was so tragic. By the way, why can't they be restricted to their camps according to UN regulations as Iran has effectively done? Moreover, it is time Punjab and Sind were also asked to keep some of the refugees as NWFP and Baluchistan have had enough of their share.

#### On the fact that he and his supporters have brought arms from Afghanistan.

It is not the first time that the tribesmen are arming themselves with Afghan arms. We have been doing so since Chahi Amanullah's time. And you must know that Wali Khan Kukukhel is not the only tribesman who has been gifted arms by the Kabul government. In fact, our share of less than 2,000

It said, "The only solution to the issue of Afghanistan was the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of the usurper force and their non-replacement by any other oppressor force."

The statement said that so far hundreds of thousands of Afghan Muslims have been martyred and injured. "Over four million Afghans have become homeless while thousands of villages have been levelled to the ground", it said.

Stressing that the issue of Afghanistan should be solved the statement said that "Afghan Muslim Mujahideen will continue their fight until the achievement of their objectives."

From AFGHAN NEWS #22, 12/28/85:

The Soviet invasion has not only made millions of Afghans homeless, it also has destroyed the resting places of millions of Afghans who have died in the past. Afghans respect graveyards & visit them on special occasions to say prayers for the souls of those who have passed away. Now Soviets are driving their tanks on graveyards & in Panjsher have leveled a 500-year-old graveyard to build a helipad. It was a custom among Afghans to recommend where to be buried. Now 4 million refugees are deprived of their right & the rest of the Afghans cannot expect to be buried where they want because of the war situation. A lot of old Afghan men & women are suffering because they know their souls cannot rest in the place where they were born. The Soviets have not only occupied our house, they have also occupied our graveyards.

rifles (mostly Chinese Kalashnikovs, along with some Russian Kalashnikovs and American guns) is the lowest, although (jokingly) we certainly intend to add to this score.

The others got more. (Reading from a diary) The tribesmen of South Waziristan received 8,500 rifles on 10th December 1985 through Dr. Abdul Rashid Waziri and the nephew of Aurangzeb Mahsud. In North Waziristan, as many as 6,500 guns were distributed till February 2, 1985 through Niaz Ali, the nephew of the Faqir of Ipi. The total for Bajawar Agency is 6,500 and for Kurram Agency, 4,000. Maulvi Habibullah in Mohmand Agency got 5,500 weapons from Kabul. The Parachamkani tribesmen received 2,000. The Shurawi have set aside 6% of the arms for us. Most of these are captured arms from the Ashahr.

#### On the allegation that he and his compatriots indulged in heroin-manufacturing

The heroin-wallas have not even been touched. The business goes on as usual. The claim that 70 heroin-manufacturing laboratories have been destroyed is false. I can pinpoint each and every person who indulges in such activities. Only the houses and property of patriotic elements have been demolished.

The dealers had the right connections and some bribed officials to escape punitive action.

Some very high official functionaries are involved in the racket. I can name them if you like. I know who is the "King of Heroin" and whose brother is involved in international drug smuggling. If they want to locate the heroin laboratories, they will find so many of them in and around Lagrang/Landkotal. I am amused by the comment that no opium grows in our Agency. It has been our oldest crop and the mainstay of our agriculture. Along with sugarcane, it is one of our main cash crops, although 'bhane' is also grown in abundance in barani (rain-fed) lands. In fact, the opium production will be more this year. I maintain that Islam has not forbidden opium cultivation. The arbitrary ban on its cultivation has resulted from American pressure.

We are not averse to stopping opium cultivation. Our only demand is that the affected cultivators, who are mostly poor, must be duly compensated. We will not haggle on payment of compensation, although we estimate it to be more than Rs 10,000 per acre. We want that the American funds for the areas affected by the ban on opium cultivation should be spent judiciously rather than be pocketed by corrupt government functionaries.

The AICMB #57, December 1985, gives the following report from the Hazarajat:

According to reports from Jaghori, in the 2nd week of November a large Russian-Kabul force invaded Jaghori district. It was the 1st time since the communist coup of 4/78 that enemy forces went so deep inside the Hazarajat. In its way towards Jaghori the enemy did not meet with any resistance. The local people seemed to be rather cooperative. The Kabul-Soviet regime thus encouraged recruited members for militia units & distributed arms & ammunition among the residents. Also large quantities of wheat, sugar & cooking oil were given to the villagers. While the force was entering the area, the internal war in Hazarajat was going on & the 2 rival fronts, namely the armed groups of Shora & Nasr-Sipah, were fighting against each other. However, in the presence of Russian-Kabul troops, the warring groups suddenly declared a cease-fire & focused their joint attention on the common enemy.

On 11/11, all the hazaras who had received arms from the regime, together with local armed troops & also backed by the mujahideen from Maidan, Ghazni & Uruzgan provinces, launched fierce attacks on the enemy forces. The newly established military posts were eliminated, a large number of tanks & other military vehicles were destroyed; the majority of Afghan army troops were either killed or defected to the resistance; & huge amounts of light & heavy weapons were captured. Also the Russians were reported to have suffered heavy losses & with the remains of the Kabul army they left for Kabul.

Sultan Ali Keshmand, the prime minister who is a Hazara, has been working on Hazarajat & was thought to have made progress in winning the support of the Hazara people for his government. Also the district governor had been sending optimistic reports reassuring the central authorities of the full cooperation of the local population. The Russians, deceived by the apparently calm reception of the population in the beginning of the operation, were surprised when joint attacks were launched against them from different directions....

The results of this 1st Soviet invasion in hazarajat are the following:

- 1) The local people, suffering from food shortages, obtained plenty of foodstuffs.
- 2) The distribution of arms & ammunition by the authorities among the population & the capture of light & heavy weapons in the fighting increased the number of armed mujahideen.
- 3) The direct confrontation with the Russians & their subsequent retreat raised the morale of the Hazaras & made them more aware of the real struggle.
- 4) The Soviet invasion united the Hazara people torn by internal war since 1983.

#### AND IN BADGHIS

The AICMB #58, January 1986, gives the following report from Badghis:

Because of its location in the far north-western corner of Afghanistan, it is difficult to receive fresh news & detailed information about the situation in Badghis Province. In order to reach the area the traveler needs to go through Iran & cross the whole province of Herat. This area is one of the poorest in Afghanistan & has a long border with the Soviet Union. Even agriculture is limited to dry farming, depending entirely on rainfall. According to various information, the province is suffering from a serious food shortage; the reason being the lack of enough rain during the winter of 1984-85; the wheat harvest was very poor & the harvest of pistachio - the only export item from the area - was lost. The province is under direct military pressure from the Soviet territory in the north & from the Russian military base in Herat to the west. Military & food supplies sent from outside face serious problems. But still different information put together indicates that the province has not been "pacified" by the enemy. The resistance has managed to form armed groups, their main supply sources still being the Afghan army units stationed in the area. A group of mujahideen from Badghis...arrived in Peshawar on 1/8 after a month-long trip.

The leader of the group, Said Fazl Payman, is a poet from Herat who worked in the provincial administration of Badghis prior to the communist coup of 1978. When the resistance started he left his job, but stayed in Badghis & joined the resistance organization of Jamiat (Rabani). He was appointed as the man in charge of the cultural department & also as leader of a resistance group. He started a monthly publication in Persian printed in Badghis & the neighboring provinces. It is called "Ferogh-e-Inqilab" (The Rays of Revolution) & is strongly anti-Russian & anti-communist. Its issue #7 (Vol. III, 8/30/1363 [1985]) carries an article on "The Background of the Soviet Invasion," a poem about the resistance & local fighting news for the month.

Enemy control is limited to the provincial center, Qala-e-Nau, where besides the Kabul army there are about 1,000 Russian troops. The occupation forces have built underground military installations & living quarters. Among the 4 main districts of the province, Ghormach, Morghab, Qades & Jawand, the latter has remained liberated since 3/22/79, the district government being run by the mujahideen. In the other 3 districts the Kabul government administration is confined to the military head-

Continued on next page

#### KABUL AFTER DARK

SCMP 2/13

By TOM HENEGHAN

Kabul: There was disco dancing, an ear-splitting band, proud parents and the nervous young couple - all the elements of an engagement party anywhere in the world.

Then there were a few extras... Like the armed soldiers at the entrance to the gloomy hotel.

Or the slick band leader singing about "our heroic party."

And the portrait of Afghan President Babrak Karmal gazing regally out over the crowded ballroom.

Nightlife in Kabul, capital of a backward country in the seventh year of war between its Soviet-backed Government and Muslim rebels, is unique.

Because of a curfew, the action is over by 10 pm, a time when it has hardly begun in some Western provincial towns with a fraction of Kabul's population of about two million.

Anyone out after curfew risks being spotlighted by darkened patrol helicopters or arrested at army roadblocks.

If the city's current midwinter calm disappears, stragglers might even be caught near a gun battle between nervous soldiers and rebel infiltrators.

The oddest thing about swinging downtown Kabul is that there is any nightlife at all. Most Afghans - especially the rebels - think an evening of "wine, women and song" is against their Islamic faith.

Lively parties are unusual even in neighbouring Pakistan, where the Government has made Islam into state policy.

Well-to-do Kabulites are different, though. They are more open-minded, ready to combine the latest trends with their oldest traditions in ways that mock a visitor's preconceptions.

At the party for Roya and Kamran, the future student bride and groom, Kabul's John Travolta eagerly went through their disco paces... with other young men.

Although they have long given up the Muslim custom of covering their dark eyes and slender legs, the young women stayed in a corner by themselves, swaying to the deafening music.

"Yes, this is quite modern, it is not an arranged marriage," shouted the bride-to-be's father, Colonel Nur Ahmad, over the din of a shrill Indian song.

"Nowadays, young people meet first and then consult their parents about marriage," explained the colonel, who said he taught military subjects at Kabul University.

Just behind Col Ahmad, the buffet table was piled high with rice pilau, mutton kebabs, fresh vegetables and flat naan bread.

But alcohol, while not banned as in the neighbouring Muslim countries of Iran and Pakistan, was nowhere in sight.

Partygoers said they were just not in the habit of drinking it.

They were not missing much.

cont. on next page



Mr. Payman reported that the educational system in the province has been reorganized by the resistance. There are primary schools for children in village mosques; also 21 madrasahs (traditional schools) of 2ndary level are functioning well with 1,200 students. So far 120 students have obtained graduation certificates from the madrasahs. The graduates were either appointed as teachers or given jobs in various civil & military departments of the resistance.

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"We always know a foreigner has 'gone native' when he begins serving that turpentine at dinner," one longtime foreign resident said.

Because of the curfew, in force since Soviet troops entered the country in 1979, evening parties sometimes start before the sun is down.

Late afternoon shoppers at the Afghan Store, the capital's only department store, frequently bump into couples all dressed up for a party in its popular fifth-floor restaurant.

Zaffar Shah, lead singer at Roya and Kamran's engagement party, said his five-piece band named Pamir was booked solid for functions like this most nights of the week.

Nightlife for the few Westerners left in Kabul — most embassies have only skeleton staffs to show they disapprove of the Karmal Government — is also earlier, shorter and eerier on the way home.

Bullet-proof embassy cars whisk guests to and from dinners starting at 6.30 pm where talk centres on the mysterious blast the previous night or who is in or out of favour in the Politburo.

There are no bars. Kabul's only Italian restaurant is closed. Its German club, the place for beer and sausages, struggles along with only a handful of its original 100 members left.

The Khyber Restaurant, another once-popular eating spot on Pashtunistan Square in central Kabul, has been turned into offices by the expanding Ministry of Finance.

The Intercontinental, the five-star hotel with the best restaurant in town, has been all but deserted since rebels took potshots at it earlier in the war.

**By Peter Grier**  
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Washington  
Palm Beach, Fla., is famous for Gucci stores and polo. It is also the only United States city whose citizens sponsor a clandestine clinic for resistance fighters in Afghanistan.

The "Palm Beach Clinic for Afghans" is the dream of the thoroughly American Richard and Susan Williams. After civic work limited to historical societies and charity balls in Florida, the retired couple suddenly found themselves wandering Asian bazaars dressed in native garb, with bodyguards.

"For days we pinched ourselves," said Susan, during a recent visit to Washington. "We couldn't believe it."

The clinic is near a crossroads in the Afghan hills, a day's journey from the capital of Kabul. Since late summer, its one Afghan doctor and two paramedics have treated 3,500 people, claim the Williamses.

The \$13,000 spent so far has come from contributions by Palm Beach citizens. But the Williamses readily say they'd like foundation help, or perhaps some government funds. Because of asking for money, "we're about to lose all our friends," says Richard.

The genesis of the project was a meeting of the Palm Beach Roundtable, the type of civic group that serves up public affairs lectures. Thirteen months ago the featured speaker was Dr. Khalid Akram, son of an official of the Afghan resistance organization United Islamic Front.

Moved by Dr. Akram's depiction of the destruction wrought by the Soviet Union, Williams began collecting boots for the Afghan mujahideen fighters.

A thousand pairs later, Williams, a retired hospital supplier, realized he had also collected a substantial sum of money. Dr. Akram suggested they start a clinic. Next thing they knew, the Palm Beach couple was in Peshawar, Pakistan, with a suitcase full of donated sutures and armed tour guides that took them to guerrilla training camps.

To the Afghans, the sutures were self-explanatory.

But Susan Williams, a former hospital director of nursing, says that for the most part clinic medical supplies are best bought in Peshawar.

"With things purchased there the instructions are written in Persian, which the Afghan doctors and paramedics can read," she says.

Dr. Akram, with a pack train of equipment, slipped across the border and established the clinic last July. It is far from a full-service hospital. Its staff can patch up wounded fighters, but can't perform major surgical operations. Much of its work is treating the illnesses of the local population.

These illnesses, says Dr. Akram, have been exacerbated by Soviet destruction of provincial hospitals and by destruction of crops.

The Palm Beach Clinic is the only medical station in its area of the country, says Dr. Akram. The Red Cross runs a



large hospital in Peshawar, he adds — and a group of French doctors sneak across the border to operate in Afghanistan itself.

Other U.S. groups, such as the Los Angeles-based International Medical Corps, have sent the Afghans much aid. Some, such as the Free Afghanistan Alliance of Cambridge, Mass., arrange for wounded Afghans to travel to the west for treatment.

The Williams' son Owen recently took a secret trip into Afghanistan, to see the object of his parent's fundraising. Pictures he took show a mud-color village building, unremarkable except for a sign that says "Palm Beach Clinic for Afghans" in English — a language few Afghans can read.

As Richard Williams points out, most Afghan villagers can't read any other language, either, so the words might as well be English.

Word of mouth, he says, ensures that the Afghans of the area know who their benefactor is.

"The main thing is that it's a symbol, something the Afghans relate to America," he says. "This is the most important thing we've ever done in our lives."

# A Flag Day On Afghanistan

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

WASHINGTON, Jan. 13 — State Department officials are disinclined to boast about it, and in some quarters are even disavowing any part in it, but last Tuesday an American operative, unimpeded by diplomatic protocol and legal precedent, took decisive action.

On that day, while most of the Government was preoccupied with hand-wringing over how to deal with Libya, a State Department custodian removed the flag of Afghanistan from the diplomatic foyer of the State Department. Witnesses were slightly giddy at the boldness of the act.

"For once, we just took action," said one participant in the episode. "It was the most satisfying moment I've had at the State Department."

The unwitting instigator of this affair was the Afghan chargé d'affaires, Rohulla Erfaqui, who works in a peculiar political limbo. The United States does not acknowledge his Soviet-backed Government and, in fact, gives covert support to guerrillas who are trying to overthrow it. But the United States does maintain an embassy in Kabul as a listening post. And lukewarm diplomatic relations are conducted here between Mr. Erfaqui and the State Department Office of Protocol.

One recent day, according to American officials, Mr. Erfaqui was passing the row of flag standards inside the diplomats' entry to the State Department and noticed that the pole marked "Afghanistan" was flying the flag of the Communist regime his government had overthrown. Politely, the Afghan brought the matter to the attention of Richard J. Gookin, associate chief of protocol, and subsequently gave him a contemporary flag as a replacement.

"Because it is not my business to put up or take down flags," Mr. Gookin recalled, "I turned the flag over to another office."

Desiree Milliken, an Afghan desk officer, picked up the story: "A memo went around to everyone in the bureau who had anything to do with Afghanistan, and a meeting was held." The assembled officials quickly agreed, she said, that what was "obviously not a current flag" had no place in the lobby.

An aide was told to see to it.

## Bring In the Lawyers

There ensued a consultation of lawyers. They checked the rulebook and found it offered no advice at all on the question of flag display in the diplomatic lobby. They checked the precedents and found them ambiguous. Cuba has no flag in the lobby. But Libya, currently regarded as a pariah state, has one.

Next a call was made to the department's Office of Flag Regulation, which, it turns out, has little to do with flag regulation but rather does ceremonial events for the Secretary of State. It deferred to the Office of Technical Services, which handles audio equipment, exhibits and, yes, flags.

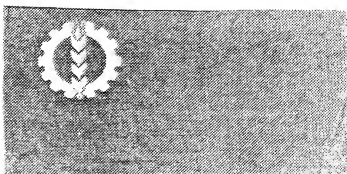
The dutiful aide assigned to the flag case recalled: "So I called Technical Services, and the guy said, 'Yeah, sure, we'll take down your flag. Which country?' I said, 'You don't want a memo?'"

Within hours, the anonymous custodian had removed the flag and slid over the flags of Algeria and Antigua to fill the empty space.

This left only the question of the new flag. Surely, the diplomats reasoned, it would be offensive to visiting Freedom Fighters to fly the flag of the oppressive regime. Yet would it not offend the Afghan chargé to decide not to put it up at all?

And so, after its moment of action, the State Department demonstrated that inertia, too, has its place in the conduct of international affairs.

"The issue," said one diplomat, "is under study. It will be under study for some time."



The flag of the Soviet-backed Afghan Government, top, and that of the regime it overthrew.



DRA stamps are available from the Afghanistan Stamp Agency in North America, 127 Cartwright Ave., Toronto, Ontario, Canada M6A 1VA. The agency says it has all the new issues since 1981.

## Afghan cover exchanged for costume jewelry

Thanks to a stamp dealer, a Midwest industrialist now owns an Afghan guerrilla cover and a lobby for the Afghans owns a half million pieces of costume jewelry.

Miami Beach dealer-entrepreneur Marc Rouso said his International Stamp Exchange Corp. has brokered a deal for a collector to trade the jewelry for the cover.

Rouso donated the cover to the Washington, D.C.-based American-Afghan Education (Linn's Nov. 25, page 58). Its sale was to raise funds for Afghan rebels, Rouso said.

The cover was carried from Afghanistan to Paris, part of the way by the French postal service, Rouso said.

On the cover are two stamps issued by a guerrilla faction in 1982. The stamps are not recognized by the Universal Postal Union.

Stan Jackson, who identified himself as a broker, for the buyer of the cover, said the electroplated gold costume jewelry for men and women had a retail value of \$2.5 million.

The client bought the cover based on information that it is one of only three to have been carried outside the closed borders of Afghanistan, according to Jackson.

He was taking a chance that no additional covers will surface, Jackson said.

Rouso said he has one of the covers in his private collection.

"This is more than a rare stamp exchange," Jackson said. "The Afghan resistance postage stamp is a symbol of the Afghan fight for freedom from the Soviets. I am proud to be a part of it."

Andrew Elva of the Federation for American Afghan Action, closely aligned with the education fund, said the organization would try to market the jewelry and use the proceeds to support the rebels, known as mujahedin, in their war against the Soviet Union.

Rouso announced earlier that the ISEC would receive no commission from the sale. "This is a moment of which we can all be proud," he said. ■

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS ON AFGHANISTAN compiled by Frank Joseph Shulman in  
Doctoral Dissertations on Asia, Vol.8, #1 & 2 (Winter/Summer 1985), An An-  
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*Shahr-i Zohak and the History of the Bamiyan Valley.* Cambridge, 1983 (Ph.D. in Archaeology). 279p. Copies available through the British Library Lending Division, Boston Spa, Yorkshire, accession no.D53385/85 (BLDD F). Studies the archeology of the hilltop fortress of Shahr-i Zohak in central Afghanistan, focusing on the mid-first millennium (the period of its founding) but also touching upon later historical periods.

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*Compte rendu d'une mission médicale en Afghanistan.* [French: Report of a Medical Mission in Afghanistan.] Nice, 1981 (Doctorat d'Etat en médecine). 73p. For copies, write to the Bibliothèque de l'Université de Nice, Section Médecine, Chemin de Vallombrose, 06100 Nice, France.

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*Selected Boundaries in South Asia in the Context of International Law.* London, 1982 (Ph.D. in Laws, London School of Economics and Political Science). X, 626p. + 1 vol. of 19 maps. For copies, write to the University of London Library, Senate House, Malet St., London WC1E 7HU, United Kingdom.

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*Britanskia agressiia v Afganistane i anglo-russkoe sopernichestvo v Tsentral'noi Azii v pervoi polovine XIX v. v angliiskoi burzhuaznoi istoriografii.* [Russian: British Aggression in Afghanistan and Anglo-Russian Rivalry in Central Asia during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century in English Bourgeois Historiography.] Institut vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR, 1982 (Kandidat nauk in Historical Sciences).

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*Timurid Architecture in Khurasan.* Edinburgh, 1983 (Ph.D. in Fine Art). 951p. Copies available through the British Library Lending Division, Boston Spa, Yorkshire, accession no.D52759/84 (BLDD F). Khurasan is a province whose borders encompassed Herat and Balkh in Afghanistan under the Timurid dynasty (15th century).

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*Les Rorbat: contribution à l'étude économique et sociale d'un groupe "Jat" d'Afghanistan.* [French: The Rorbat: Contribution to an Economic and Social Study of a Jat Group of Afghanistan.] Paris IV (Paris-Sorbonne), 1980 (Doctorat de 3<sup>e</sup>

cycle en civilisation islamique). x, 492p. Copies are available at the Bibliothèque de la Sorbonne, library catalogue nos. I 6266 (1-2)-4° and I 6266a (1-2)-4°.

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*Sintaksis prostogo predlozhenia vakhanskogo iazyka (tipy dvusostavnykh predlozhenii)*. [Russian: The Syntax of the Simple Sentence in the Wakhi Language (Types of Two-Part Sentences).] Institut iazykovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR, 1982 (Kandidat nauk in Philological Sciences). On a language spoken in Afghanistan and Pakistan.

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*Mezhdunarodno-pravovye printsipy v otnosheniakh mezhu SSSR i Afganistanom*. [Russian: International Legal Principles in the Relations between the USSR and Afghanistan.] Kievskii gosudarstvennyi universitet imeni T. G. Shevchenko, 1982 (Kandidat nauk in Juridical Sciences).

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*Technology, Style and Craft Specialization: Spheres of Interaction and Exchange in the Indo-Iranian Borderlands, Third Millennium B.C.* Harvard, 1984 (Ph.D. in Anthropology). 401p. DAI 45, no.6 (Dec. 1984): 1803-A; UM 8417866. Presents the results of a typological and technological study of black on grey ceramics found widely distributed throughout eastern Iran, southern Afghanistan, and central and southern Pakistan.

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# **Broadcasts aimed at Afghanistan:**

All times are Greenwich Mean Time Frequencies in kHz

India - All India Radio

Pashto	Dari
0215-0300	9630, 7225 0300-0345
1430-1545	1071 1330-1430

Britain - BBC

Pashto	
0145-0215	9645, 7235, 6195, 1413 (until 0200)
0215-0230 (Fri.&Sat.)	9645, 7235, 6195

Persian

0315-0345	11740, 9590, 7230, 6195, 1413, 720
1615-1700	7160, 7150, 6180, 1413, 720
1830-1900	7160, 5990, 1413 (Sun-Fri)

China - Radio Beijing

Pashto	
1500-1600	11575, 9880, 8260, 5250, 4130
Persian	
1530-1600	9440, 7480
1800-1830	11515, 9440, 7480, 6590

Egypt - Radio Cairo

Pashto	
1500-1600	15175
Persian	
1250-1450	9580

West Germany - Deutsche Welle

Pashto	
0300-0312	9690, 9650, 7275, 6135
0830-0900	21650, 17875, 17715, 15275, 15185
Dari	
0312-0325	9690, 9650, 7275, 6135
0800-0830	21650, 17875, 17715, 15275, 15185

Iran - Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran

Pashto	
1315-1415	7230
1530-1630	720

Israel - Radio Israel

Persian	
1530-1625	11655, 9009

Pakistan - Radio Pakistan

Dari	
1600-1800	5095

United States - Voice of America

Pashto	
0000-0030	11805, 9635, 7105, 6015, 1260
0100-0145	11805, 9700, 9635, 7105, 6015
1430-1515	15435, 11845, 9680, 7210
Dari	
0145-0230	11805, 9700, 9635, 6050
1515-1600	15435, 11845, 9680, 7210
2300-2330	9605, 9530, 7265, 7135, 5995, 1260

The Afghanistan Mujahideen Radio

Voice of Unity (Vienna)

Pashto/Dari	
0130-0225	11560, 9275, 7420
1530-1625	15050, 11630, 9855

Voice of Afghanistan (Peshawar)

Pashto/Dari		(v=variable)
0130-0230	5850-v	
0730-0830	5830-v	
1130-1230	5825-v, 3800-v, 3230-v	
1515-1615	5825-v, 4230-v, 3840-v	

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

THE AFGHAN CAVALIERS, photographs by Roland & Sabrina Michaud, text by Christian Hoche, #7 in the DOUBLE PAGE series, P.O. Box 939, Radio City Station, New York, NY 10101. Paper. \$8.95. ISSN 0295-6810.

AFGHANISTAN: PARADISE LOST, by Roland & Sabrina Michaud, Vendome Press (515 Madison Avenue, New York 10022). ISBN 0-86565-053-5. \$12.95. This is a Paperback edition of the Michauds' 1980 volume of photographs.

Arnold Fletcher's AFGHANISTAN: HIGHWAY OF CONQUEST (Ithaca 1965) has been reprinted by the Greenwood Press, 88 Post Road West, P.O. Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881. 325 pp. \$35.

"The Pukhtun Tapos: from Biography to Autobiography" by Benedicte Grima in the ASIAN FOLKLORE JOURNAL, XLIV -2, 1985. Pp. 241-267.

AFGHANISTAN REPORT #18, September 1985, from the Crisis & Conflict Analysis Team, Inst' of Strategic Studies, 8 Khyaban-e-Iqbal F/6/3, Islamabad, Pakistan.

AFGHANISTAN: THE SOVIET INVASION IN PERSPECTIVE, Anthony Arnold, Hoover Int'l Studies, Stanford. 179 pp. \$10.95.

WHITE BOOK - China's Interference in the Internal Affairs of the DRA, DRA Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Information & Press Dept. Kabul, 1985. 40 pp., illus. (Available from the DRA Mission to the United Nations, 866 UN Plaza, New York, NY 10017.)

UNKNOWN HEROES DO NOT EXIST by Bulgarian writer Krasi Mira Iyvanjeski. Bakhtar says "the author has prepared the book on the basis of his observations of the real situation in the country as well as his interviews & personal contacts with the common people of Afghanistan."

AFGHAN RESISTANCE, a monthly newsletter published by the Afghan Resistance Information Center (a branch of the Afghan Youth Council in America), P.O. Box 751, Annandale, VA 22003. \$18/year in the US; \$32/year in all other countries. The 6-page first issue appeared in 10/85.

LIE DOWN WITH LIONS, by Ken Follett, William Morrow & Co., New York, 1986. 333 pp. \$18.95. Josh Rubins writes in the NYT Book Review section on 1/26:

Mr. Follett offers his soupiest variation yet on a favorite theme, featuring a heroine in the grip of violently se-sawing passions. We first meet the English beauty Jane Lambert in Paris, where she's working as an interpreter and is blissfully in love with an American teacher, Ellis Thaler — that is, until she suddenly learns Ellis is actually a C.I.A. agent who's been lying to her, "continuously and shamelessly and treacherously." Horrified, Jane instantly flies into the waiting arms of a French doctor, Jean-Pierre ("probably the most beautiful man she had ever met"), who marries her and whisks her off to Afghanistan. There she will assist him in supplying medical aid to anti-Soviet guerrillas and their families.

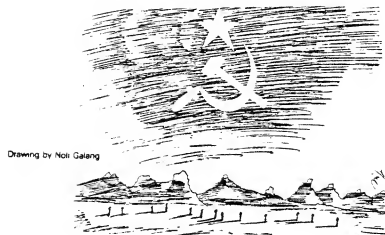
But Jane has somehow landed in precisely the same situation as before. Jean-Pierre, as the reader knows from the very start, is an even more shameless spy than Ellis was, secretly feeding the K.G.B. information that leads to grisly ambushes of the freedom fighters. So when Jane chances upon this ugly truth, she's rehorrorified (especially now that she has a baby daughter) and all primed to fall back in delirious love with Ellis as he arrives in the neighborhood, conveniently on cue, to make an arms deal with the rebels.

Once the author has maneuvered this elaborate romantic-political triangle into place, some sure-fire derring-do — a Soviet attack foiled by a nifty bridge explosion, an arduous escape over mountains, a showdown in a K.G.B. helicopter — can proceed, invigorating the novel's final third. But by the time the three principal characters reach these climactic set pieces, they've been repeatedly exposed as denatured cousins of Mr. Follett's earlier, more credibly motivated combatants. Jean-Pierre, blandly unconvincing in his pro-Soviet fanaticism (a supposed legacy from his French Communist father), turns ludicrous as an avenging monster in pursuit of his unfaithful wife. Ellis is that safest of good guys, the C.I.A. man with ideals, programmed to stir patriotism without offending liberal sensibilities. ("The Agency doesn't like me," he carefully explains, "because I sometimes refuse a mission, such as the time they killed the President of Chile.") And though Jane may talk dirty and fight rough, at heart she's an exasperating throwback to what Ogden Nash dubbed the "had I but known" school of Gothic suspense.

Peers Carter, head of the Afghan Refugee Information Network (77 Chelverton Road, London SW15 1RW), described the opinion drafted by 12 int'l lawyers on the extent to which recognition of the Afghan resistance as an autonomous liberation movement would be compatible with international law. The draft text "emphasized that Afghanistan was legally a fully sovereign & independent State when it was invaded on 12/27/79, & that the invasion was in flagrant violation of one of the fundamental rules of int'l law (Art. 2, Para. 4 of the UN Charter); & it refers to the fact that the General Assembly has many times demanded the immediate, unconditional & complete withdrawal of Soviet [sic] forces. Given the practical effectiveness of the Resistance (even though it is not in a position to exercise all the attributes of a government), the illegitimacy of the Soviet presence & of the puppet gov't which the USSR has set up & which is devoid of any intrinsic power, & given the fact that the war in Afghanistan is unquestionably an international conflict & not a mere police operation, the legal experts argue that both sides had both the rights & obligations of a belligerent, so that no formal int'l recognition of a state of war is required, & that it would be premature to recognise the Resistance as a Government; but that this does not mean that no recognition at all is possible, especially since the argument that the Resistance had no official spokesman disappeared with the formation of the Resistance Coalition on 5/16/85. The European Parliament was accordingly right in its resolution of 6/16/82 to ask the Governments to 'recognise the Afghan Resistance as a legitimate movement of national liberation.'...

"The conclusion of the legal opinion is that although no State or organization is legally obliged to recognise the Resistance as the only authority entitled to speak for the Afghan people, it cannot be contrary to int'l law nor to United Nations practice to recognise the Resistance as a liberation movement striving for freedom from foreign occupation of a neo-colonial character; nor, given its effective power inside Afghanistan, would such recognition be premature.

"The document will be presented to Govern-



Jamiat-i-Islami discusses the Islamic Organization Conference in Morocco in Afghan News #24, 1/19/86:

The Islamic Organization Conference is a forum in which the problems of the Muslim world are being discussed. Since the beginning of the Soviet invasion, this organization has passed resolutions in support of the cause of the people of Afghanistan. The problem with the IOC is that a few Arab countries, like Libya, Syria, South Yemen & the PLO usually try to show that support for the cause of Afghanistan undermines the cause of Palestine. In the recent conference...the cause of Afghanistan was sabotaged both by the Soviet Union, through its friends in the conference, & the USA who threatened Libya with military & economic actions on the eve of the conference. The friends of the Soviets exploited the situation...to divert the attention of the conference toward the so-called US attack on Libya. The mujahideen delegation presented their case to the conference & a resolution was passed in support of the people of Afghanistan, but the Afghan issue was not given its proper importance. We reject the view of the so-called radical states who say that the Afghan cause undermines the importance of Palestinian problems & think that the massacres...by Zionists are as painful as the massacres of the people of Afghanistan by the Red Army. American policy-makers acted emotionally, choosing a wrong time for their campaign against Libya. The only winner in this game was the Soviet Union who avoided strong criticism & condemnation of their atrocities in Afghanistan without being directly involved in it."

AFGHAN RESISTANCE: ACHIEVEMENTS & PROBLEMS by Moh'd Es'haq, published by the Jami'at-i-Islami, Peshawar (P.O. Box 264, Peshawar, Pakistan), January 1986. This pamphlet contains papers presented by Es'haq at a seminar held in Stockholm last December & at a conference held in Washington, D.C. last June.

AFGHANISTAN: THE SOVIET WAR by Edward R. Girardet, ST. Martin's Press, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY, 1986. 256 pp. \$19.95.

SHIKAST-I RUSHA DAR HAZARAJAT ("Defeat of the Russians in Hazarajat"), M. Gharjistani. Available from: M.M. Afghanistan, P.O. Box 3373, Arlington, VA 22203. \$5. "This book relates the heroic deeds of the people of Hazarajat & the other central provinces of our country against the invading Russians. Most of the events in the book come from accounts of eyewitnesses who accompanied the mujahidin redoubt to redoubt, mountain to mountain, desert to desert. Informing the reader of recent events in our people's holy war, this book reveals the crimes of the inhuman government & the arch-traitors of Afghanistan." (Notice in Faryad-i mujahid, vol.3, #8, 1/85. The newsletter is also available from the above address.)

ON THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION AND ITS IMMEDIATE TASKS IN THE PRESENT CONDITIONS, documents of the Extended Meeting of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA, PDPA Central Committee, Kabul, 1986. (Also available in Dari & German from the Afghan Mission to the United Nations.) (See extract on p. 35)

AFGHAN REALITIES is the fortnightly bulletin of the Afghan Information & Documentation Center, P.O. Box 324, Peshawar, Pakistan. The annual subscription is \$100. (Acct. # 2032, United Bank, Hamam St., Peshawar Cantt. Pakistan) Each typewritten bulletin is 10-12 pages in length.

Not publishing: Pakistani authorities have closed the offices of 2 Peshawar mujahideen newspapers & arrested their editors, M.Hassan Wollosmal & Mr. Mohseni. Mr. Wollosmal has sought refuge in Norway. Both papers presented a series of articles alleging high levels of corruption in the local administration. The last issue of Mojahid Wolas, Mr. Wollosmal's paper, appeared on 1/21/86.

KABUL by M.E. Hirsh, Atheneum, 597 Fifth Avenue, NY, 1986. \$19.96.

EVENTS continued from p. 1.

stan march on Kabul on August 20. We hope to have more details for the next issue. Meanwhile, to raise funds the Foundation sponsored a dinner & concert on February 28 at The Days Inn in New York City. Honored at the occasion were Loulette Samuels, Edward Kennedy, Alfonse D'Amato, Joseph Biden, Gordon Humphrey, Paul Tsongas, Charles Rangel, Don Ritter, Nake Kamrany & Chris Chamberlin. Ticket prices began at \$100. The Foundation also plans a March concert. For information call (212) 222-3999 or write the group at 1925 7th Avenue, Suite M, New York, NY 10026.

The Pakistani publication Jang organized a 2-day seminar on Afghanistan on December 26-28 in Lahore. Participants included Gulbuddin Hakmatyar, M.M. Alam, Nur Hussain, Ghafar Mehdi, Babhani Sen Gupta, Waris Mir & Ejaz Shafi Gilani. The Pakistan Times reported that Mir Ghaus Bakhsh Bizenjo, Hanif Ramay & Aitzaz Ahsan, who spoke in favor of the Soviet presence in Afghanistan, were eventually asked to leave the meetings.

"A Trip to Bamiyan" will be the topic of a slide program to be given by Sarah Bekker on April 8 at 6:30 p.m. for the Institute for Asian Studies in New York City. Admission to the program, to be held at St. Peter's Church (Lexington Ave. @ 54th ST.) is \$10.

#### NEW STUDY

The education needs of the Afghan people will be the subject of a study by the University of Nebraska at Omaha's Office of International Studies and Programs in collaboration with the Academy for Educational Development. The U.S. Agency for

International Development has awarded the two organizations a \$48,000 grant to study programs at the elementary, secondary, and college levels for Afghans living in their own country and for Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

Chronicle of Higher Education 1/15

## BOOK REVIEWS

AFGHANISTAN - SPRACHEN UND DIALEKTE, AFGHANISTAN/LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS, Peter Behnstedt and Charles M. Kieffer, Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (TAVO), A VIII, 11 (Cartographers: Martha Henke & Horst Pohlmann; drawing completed March 1984; published November 1984); Wiesbaden, Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag. Scale 1:2,500,000, cm. 50x72, in color.

Afghanistan has often been described as a "linguistical paradise" and, indeed, such a characterization is highly justified. What else, from a linguist's point of view, can a country be whose inhabitants speak some 32 languages pertaining to 4 different families - without counting the many dialects? Some of these last are very important. Just think about the problems connected with Pashtu where the traditional broad division between the "s-branch" and the "x-branch" (generally referred to as Pashtu vs. Pakhtu) is nowadays refuted after the identification by Kieffer of the existence of at least a third, "central" branch (see G. Redard, C. M. Kieffer, S. Sana, L'Atlas des parlers iraniens: Atlas de l'Afghanistan, Berne, Arbeitspapier 13, 1974. Pp 24-33). Such findings stress the necessity to rediscuss not only the boundaries between Pashtu and Pakhtu, but also to elaborate a new global approach to the dialectology of that language. And this could have consequences for two other unsolved problems: the topic of the ethnogenesis of the Afghan people, and the political issue connected to the Durand Line and the status of the so-called Pashtunistan.

Moreover, the above-mentioned number, 32, refers only to some of the languages spoken in Afghanistan as it, quite rightly, excludes the foreign languages taught in the schools and frequently used by middle and upper classes, such as English, French, German, Russian, Urdu, etc., or the specialized languages such as those employed by the carpet traders in the bazaar. Equally important is the fact that such a choice leaves out also the languages once used inside the territory which is now Afghanistan that have now disappeared. Anyway, even ignoring those "peripheral" sectors of linguistics and taking into account only the languages spoken by people living in contemporary Afghanistan, this country is really a paradise for every linguist.

Well, what about mapping paradise? Quite a foolish, not to say impossible task, but an exciting, stimulating one. Maybe the real (!) paradise does not require any map because the souls getting there will miraculously become acquainted with every detail, with every corner (and with every idiom spoken there, if any...). On the contrary, the setting up of a cartographic drawing of a linguistic paradise such as Afghanistan is a totally different matter. It is true that the remark made by Prof. Richard Tapper during the colloquium on "Le fait ethnique en Iran et en Afghanistan" held recently in Paris, where he argued that ethnic groups cannot be reduced to the one-dimensional level of a map because there are too many elements intervening in their identification, applies also to the idea of a map of languages and dialects of a country. As a matter of fact, the unidimensional and static representation depicting what has been heard, understood and classified by the researcher on a precise spot, in a precise moment, thanks to the information offered by a precise speaker (or by a limited number of speakers) cannot take into account all the many elements forming the whole linguistic reality. Just think about the changes that took place in the period between the gathering of the information and the editing of the map. The importance of such a delay becomes particularly evident in Afghanistan's situation where migrations inside and outside the State boundaries following the Saur Revolution and the Soviet intervention radically modified the distribution of the population and, by consequence, of languages and dialects.



Further, given the undimensional aspect of any map, this one can only roughly represent multilingualism; it gives no idea of the shifting of prestige among various languages or dialects; it ignores totally the linguistic consequences of political decisions and acts. For instance, I am sure that the attitude of Uzbeki speakers toward their own language was different in the past (when their mother tongue had no official status and was forbidden in the media) and today when the DRA has declared it a national language and has allowed and fostered its use in the press and broadcasting together with other idioms.

Do all these criticisms mean that it is useless to try to map linguistic (or ethnic) groups? In my opinion not at all. A map like every tool, notwithstanding its limitations, remains worthwhile insofar as it offers the researcher new materials and new approaches to his/her work, be it scientific or political (I say here political because during the Paris colloquium previously referred to someone criticized the mapping of ethnic groups because it could be used by governments to achieve their goals of trying to unify different people or, the other way round, of dividing the same people into different administrative regions. The remark was true but, indeed, quite eternal, because scholarly works have always been used - willingly or not, with or without their author's awareness - by political powers, yesterday as today, in the East as well as in the West).

A map is one of the best tools a researcher can have provided that map is scientifically drawn and the researcher recognizes its unavoidable shortcomings and knows how to deal with it, and I praise the splendid work of Kieffer and Behnsted who prepared the map "Afghanistan - Sprachen und Dialekte" under review here for the Tubinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients (TAVO). In the seventies, scholars of various faculties of the University of Tübingen (FRG) decided to pool their talent to help supply needed information about the Near and Middle East. Thus was born the idea to draft an atlas of the area wherein the latest research and cartographic techniques would be employed to present concisely and lucidly the results of the scholars' efforts. To facilitate the presentation of the historical and contemporary material, two parts were planned to be published in German and English. Part A covers the contemporary situation with 147 maps on 118 pages and is divided into 10 sections. Part B is dedicated to the historical dimension of the area and was designed to control diachronic depth without losing synchronic breadth (in 237 maps on 172 pages). As time went by the project became international and so far a lot of maps have been published, together with many Beihefte or supplementary volumes designed to show how the source material was prepared, to illustrate the state of the research on special problems and to explain the large body of data presented in condensed form on the maps. Kieffer and Behnsted's map on the languages and dialects of Afghanistan, n. A VIII 11, is presented with n. A VIII 16, ethnic groupings, researched by Dr. E. Orywal of the Institut für Volkerkunde at the Univ. of Köln (FRG). There are differences between the two maps, for instance, Kieffer and Behnsted's map is more exact on the identification of Brahui-speaking villages along the Helmand River and in Baluchistan. But for the first time a clear instrument giving the linguistic situation in Afghanistan is offered to students and scholars. We have a perfect example of what a traditional (and often unappreciated) field of research such as philology can achieve when united with the modern approaches of sociolinguistics and cartographic techniques. Let's thank Profs. Kieffer and Behnsted and hope that the Beihefte (edited by Prof. Kieffer) will soon appear to offer us an additional guide. Paradise has been mapped. The task of reaching and understanding it rests now upon us, the scholars.

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AFGHANISTAN, FROM TRAGEDY TO TRIUMPH, Sadhan Mukherjee, New Delhi-Jalandhar-Bangalore, Sterling Publishers Private, Ltd., 1984. Pp. x + 258.

Each coin has at least 3 sides (i.e., the obverse, the reverse and...the rim) and the three together form the real coin. This very obvious consideration is valid also when we discuss other matters including, of course, contemporary Afghanistan. Most of what we can read today on this subject has been written by people who report the situation as it appeared to them after clandestine trips in the countryside (especially in the regions bordering Pakistan) or material offered by the never identified "Western diplomatic sources." These analyses praise the mujahideen and blame the DRA government's programs and policies. This approach is justified and valid but it is only one of the many possible. There exist other perspectives and facts that must be dealt with to have a complete as possible picture of what is going on there.

This is why I think it is useful to suggest that people interested in Afghan history also read Mukherjee's book which offers a sound and well-documented introduction to contemporary Afghan politics as seen by an Indian leftist supporting the DRA's policies. Of course, I do not suggest that his position is the correct one; what is important is that it shows the other side of the coin. When we read in the National Geographic (V. 167, #4, Apr. 1985, p.499) that "A United Nations consultant said he is impressed by Kabul's efforts in public health. The regime knows it must deliver services to win the people, he said, 'but I believe they are doing so not because they have to, but because they want to.'" We cannot continue to ignore blindly the programs of Karmal's government. And two chapters of Mukherjee's book, "Building a New Afghanistan" (pp. 153-175) and "Land Reforms: A Signal Achievement" (pp. 176-189) offer much information and food for thought on the subjects.

The book is useful also because the author had the opportunity of visiting Kabul often after April 1978 and of personally talking with some DRA leaders and he is therefore able to introduce new details regarding recent Afghan history. See, for instance, pp. 95 and ff., material concerning PDPA life before and after the Saur Revolution; p. 114 for the presence in August 1979 (5 months before the December intervention) of Soviet combat units in Afghanistan; pp. 120 and 165 for Kabul's assessment of the use made by Amin of napalm bombs, supplied at his request by the USSR, to crush "several Hazara villages." On the other side, Mukherjee also presents documents showing that at the beginning of 1979, "American drug enforcement agents on the Pakistan-Afghan border" discovered Chinese experts training Afghan counter-revolutionaries (p. 134) and so on.

There are some amusing mistakes in the book such as on p. 136 where the author says that in August 1979 "the Hilton Hotel [of Herat] where I stayed overnight carried the imprint of sheer vendetta" after the riots of last March. The Russians built the "Herat" hotel in Herat: a Hilton never existed in Afghanistan! Intriguing is the statement on p. 107: "Amin in 1980 even announced that it [the DRA] had become a 'dictatorship of the proletariat.'" Amin died at the end of 1979! Still more puzzling is the statement on p. 104: "As events have since proved beyond every iota of doubt, Karmal and his colleagues are ardent patriots and Marxist-Leninists." These words, probably derived from an excess of enthusiasm, clash with the assertions of PDPA leaders that always stress that theirs is a "national and democratic" revolution, not a "socialist" one. However, the discussion on the exact ideological nature and collocation of the PDPA is today premature as no one has yet thoroughly studied the official documents of this party.

Returning to the question of different sides of every reality, I would like to draw attention to a passage where Mukherjee praises DRA programs regarding women. He writes that today the PDPA "has done tremendous work for the emancipation of women" and to prove it he recalls his meeting in Kandahar with some young girls "enjoying their freedom; more so [was] Feroza who was to be married off (or sold) to an old man. The Saur Revolution and the decree on Marriage and women's rights saved her. She was still unmarried in 1979 but now must have married and settled down" (p. 163). Mukherjee is right when he underlines that the DRA decree gave women the opportunity to escape unwanted marriages arranged by their parents - an argument too often forgotten by the supporters of the mujahedin. Nonetheless, he feels sure that his Feroza "must now have married and settled down." Is it too much to expect open-minded people to imagine that Afghan Feroza, like her sisters in New York, Leningrad, in Venice, etc., could one day live her own life as she prefers, possibly without being "married and settled down?" It is not enough to recognize that the other side of the coin exists; we must accept that it is round and that no side is ever more important, or more colored, than the other.

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From the AICMB #58, January 1986:

Said Abdul Khaleq, 26 years old, was a police officer working in the criminal investigation dept. of the Jhalalabad police... He left his job & fled to Peshawar. He is a graduate of the Kabul Police Academy & in 1983 was sent for further training to the Soviet Union. He spent some 6 months in a police training center in Kiev. He said: 'We were living in an overcrowded hostel under strict regulations. We were kept apart from the local population & were only allowed to go to a restaurant or cafe in the city once a week. We spent most of the time in military training, lessons on criminal investigation & new methods of interrogation & also in communist political ideology. Even the communist party members among the Afghans found it hard to live under Soviet conditions; they would say that Afghanistan was poor but it was easier to live there with more freedom.'

The most astonishing fact was the hostility of the local people. 'We Afghans,' said Abdul Khaleq, 'communist or non-communist, were the same in their eyes; they hated us. We could not reveal our Afghan identity. We would always pretend to be Indian, Syrian or Libyan. I heard of many cases of our colleagues being insulted by the locals, maltreated & beaten'...

He said that there were 2 kinds of Russian scholarships: the ordinary one, very small, 87 rubles/month which hardly covered living costs. Then there is the special scholarship, 200 rubles/month, granted to Party members or their relatives recommended by the CC. The other category of Afghans who were well paid & had the most pleasant life were religious personalities... Asked about the indoctrination of Afghans in Russia, Khaleq said: 'My highest estimate is that 10% may be influenced. The rest are disillusioned & even become hostile.' He was more worried about the children who, isolated from the family influence, could be more seriously Sovietized.

#### A LETTER TO GORBACHOV

Mr Gorbachov ,	
This is the international year of	A
Peace .	
My name is Fahim . I live in	L
Australia and I come from Afghanistan.	
I want to tell you to stop	F
the fighting in Afghanistan and I want	
to ask you what do you want from	A
Afghanistan ? If you like fighting ,	L
go and fight with U.S.A . It is	
very shameful for you that you are	A
fighting with small and poor	H
Afghanistan .	
If you don't stop the fighting in	
Afghanistan you won't win and the	12/85
Afghan Mujahideen will keep on	
fighting and fighting .	
We are saying take your people out	
of Afghanistan and it will be	
very nice and every country in	
the world will like it.	
Abdul Fahim	
Canberra ,	
6 Jan. 1986	

NEW NON-PARTY FACES IN THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS as described by Bakhtar on 12/26.

Sayed Amanuddin, 54, born in Kabul, a Tajik, educated in Germany, "a reliable social figure among the national investors," former Deputy Minister of Light Industries & Foodstuffs. He will be a Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers.

Sarjang Khan, 61, born in Paktia Prov., a Pashtoon, educated in Turkey, "a prominent social figure among the border tribes," a former military commander & provincial governor. He will be a Minister without portfolio in the Ministry of Tribes & Nationalities.

Dr. Abdul Wahed Sarabi, 59, born in Ghazni Prov., an Hazara, educated in Austria in economics, "a distinguished social figure among the intelligentsia," a former adviser to the Ministry of Vocational & Higher Studies. He will be a Minister without portfolio in the Cultural & Social Affairs Department.

Abdul Ghafour Baher, 53, born in Laghman, a Pashtoon, educated in Egypt, "a prominent social figure among religious scholars," formerly president of religious schools. He will serve as a Minister without portfolio in the Islamic Affairs Dept.

Fazel Haq Khaleqyar, 51, born in Herat Prov., a Tajik. He will serve as Minister without portfolio for financial & economic affairs.

Moh'd Akbar Kergar, a Pashtoon writer, former President of Radio Afghanistan. He will serve as President of the State Committee for Printing & Publication.

\* \* \*

#### CONFESSION:

Purported Pakistani spy Sajid Hussein, who "had membership in 3 counter-revolutionary bands" entered Afghanistan illegally and committed "destructive acts." "On his return back to Pakistan, Sajib Hussein suggested to Gulbuddin that the members of his band should learn Judo." Hussein was arrested by DRA forces on his "last illegal entry into Afghanistan under the nickname, Kamran."

(BIA 1/6)

MORE NEW FACES IN DRA MINISTRIES (as listed in AFGHAN REALITIES, 1/1/86); In the Ministry of Tribes & Nationalities: Sarjang Zazai & Khan Moh'd Khan Zadran as advisers; Moh'd Akbar Ghurmach, Moh'd Qateb, Gul Moh'd Khan Mangal & Farid Gul as deputy ministers.

In the Ministry of Education: Abdul Hamid Mubarez as deputy minister in literacy affairs.

In the Ministry of Commerce: Mehr Chand Varma as deputy minister.

In the Ministry of Islamic Affairs: Enayatullah Rashid as deputy minister of Islamic teaching & Auqaf.

\* \* \*

ON THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC CHARACTER OF THE REVOLUTION according to Babrak Karmal 11/9/85:

The new approach towards expanding the social basis implies the following:

— readiness for broad countryside cooperation in the interests of all the people and for the sake of reaching national accord;

— enlarging the composition of the leading state bodies, that is, the Revolutionary Council and the Council of Ministers by the inclusion therein of the authoritative representatives of people who express the interests of diverse sections and groups of our society, for guidance of the country is not the monopoly of the Party alone;

— developing a dialogue with those groups which continue unconsciously to take hostile positions with regard to the revolution or those who have repented of their anti-national and counterrevolutionary actions;

— possible and flexible compromises on a principled basis for the sake of reaching national accord and establishing universal peace and security.

We call upon all compatriots and true patriots of free Afghanistan to take an active part in the historical renovation and national revival of the country, in the building of a happy future for their children. The doors of the homeland are open to all compatriots living abroad; they will be given every opportunity, with full guarantee of security, without any discrimination and with due respect for human dignity, to join the efforts to build a prosperous and independent Afghanistan.

3. Hard-working factory workers, peasants and craftsmen! You are the true and massive support of the revolution. The future of the revolution is in your hands. Our country is an agrarian one. Therefore of prime importance for the DRA are: the solution of the peasants' question in the interests of the working peasants on a just basis and with account taken of the peculiar features and legitimate rights of other farmers as well as middle landowners and of the right to personal land ownership; getting all peasants actively involved in the implementation of agrarian reforms, rendering all possible assistance to peasants by providing them with credits, seeds and fertilizers; supplying them with commodities and helping them in selling their produce; assisting them in setting up peasants' cooperatives on a strictly voluntary basis and with due consideration of the local conditions.

We must ensure the growth of agricultural production, consistently implement the programme of developing new lands, increasing sown areas and carrying out irrigation projects at the expense of the state, and organize on newly developed lands state farms in order to improve the supply of foodstuffs to the people and of raw materials to industry.

Encouragement and support of the initiative of the private sector in boosting agricultural commodity production, including the setting up of le-

ACKU<sup>OF</sup>

Friends, comrades, allies, compatriots! Forward under the slogan of our revolution: "All in the name and for the sake of the noble, free and working people of Afghanistan!"

The revolution continued!

# CHRONOLOGY

11/23 - HK Standard - The US State Dept. received a letter from Kabul alleging that the Soviet soldier, Aleksandr Sukhanov, who took refuge in the US Embassy on 10/31 (see FORUM XIV, #1, p.6) was executed sometime after he left the Embassy on 11/4. US officials are suspicious of the authenticity of the letter.

12/11 - BIA - "The brutalities of the reactionary regime of Iran against the Afghan fugitives have been escalated in an unprecedented manner these days." In a clash in Kerman 6 Afghans were killed & 18 wounded.

- Sakhi Merjan is the Sec'y of the CC of the DYOA.

- The Dean of the Faculty of Law & Political Science at Kabul Univ. addressed a meeting marking the 37th anniversary of the UN Declaration of Human Rights.

12/12 - BIA - The Int'l Pashto Research Center has translated a number of Pashto classics - "The Books of Puta Khazana," Pashto proverbs, a grammar, a "tribal expressions dictionary," biographies of prominent spiritual figures & the Pashto quarterly magazine - into English, Russian & German.

- This year fresh fruit valued at 54m Indian rupees was exported to India by the Afghan Vegetable Enterprise. The enterprise also imports chicken, butter, eggs & cheese from Holland & Hungary.

- A union of "martyrs wives & mothers who have lost their husbands, sons, brothers & children in the path of the revolution" will be created soon.

12/14 - BIA - Council of Ministers Chairman Sultan Ali Keshtmand announced that a commission will be established to draft the future constitution of Afghanistan. "The basic pillars of the state & social organizations will be defined, the rights & freedoms of the Afghan citizens will be guaranteed & the judicial system based on progressive & democratic concepts will be foreseen."

12/15 - BIA - From Faryab: 85 landless families received title deeds to land in Maimana; 600 "armed persons," formerly with Jamiat-e-Islami, surrendered to the DRA armed forces.

- Haqiqat-e-Enqilab-e-Saur reported that Pakistan received 362 billion yen from the Japanese gov't for its "anti-Afghan operations" last year & that Japanese Premier Nakasone announced "an aid of \$6 billion to the bandits to encourage them to commit ever further homicide & plunder." (See 2/1.)

12/17 - BIA - Mulawi Khalis' brother's car was attacked in Peshawar; 3 "bandits" were killed & 6 injured. An explosion in the foodstuff depot of the Kori camp in Peshawar killed 8 & injured 20 of Gulbuddin's followers.

12/18 - BIA - A TV "friendship bridge" has been set up between the DRA & the USSR. The Gul-e-Surkh artistic ensemble sang Dari, Pashto & Russian songs to Soviet youth & the Moscow jazz orchestra of Komsomol played Dari & Russian songs to the Afghan youth. "Bridges" with Czechoslovakia & East Germany will be established soon.

- HK Standard - About 65 DRA soldiers were killed & many more were wounded when a booby-trapped jeep exploded in Kabul last week.

- PT - Col. Ghulam Mustafa Ahmeda, a 44-year-old Afghan Air Force pilot defected to Pakistan. He said the Soviets were using chemical weapons against the mujahideen; that Cubans, Czechs, Hungarians, Bulgarians & East Germans were fighting in Afghanistan; & that MIG 21 & MIG 23 jet planes were based in the DRA but that MIG 27s come from Tashkent airport to bomb Afghanistan.

12/19 - PT - Mujahideen attacked a convoy going to Badghis Province killing over 100 Soviet-DRA troops, capturing 80, destroying 12 tanks & seizing a large quantity of military hardware.

- BIA - A technical cooperation agreement between the DRA & the Selkhoz Promexport Co. of the USSR was signed. New mechanized agricultural stations will be set up in Jalalabad & Takhar.

- The arsenal of the "7 alliance" in Shinwar was blown up by Gulbuddin's associates destroying Pakistan rupees 55m worth of weapons according to Bakhtar.

- A commission has been established to organize the return of "compatriots & refugees." (See 12/21.)

12/21 - PT - A mujahid leader from Farah said in an interview in Quetta that Soviet engineers have been demolishing buildings in a 2 km area around Herat & are setting up check points within the area to crush mujahideen activities.

- BIA - The commission for helping returnees (see 12/19) met & formed sub-committees to look after the "provision of subsistence, accommodation of families... employment facilities, land distribution as well as financial assistance."

- Since the Saur Revolution, 20,146 residential apartments have been distributed to Kabul residents & another 1,389 are ready for allotment.

- Elections for representatives to local councils have been completed in Kabul, Badakhshan, Nimroz, Balkh, Nangarhar & Kunduz & are now going on in Jauzjan.

12/22 - PT - BBC reported that Pravda admitted that the Babrak regime was facing great opposition & called for the DRA to formulate its policies keeping in mind the opposition & to include it in the government.

12/23 - PT - In an interview before departing for Geneva, Pakistani Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan said that Pakistan would never recognize the Babrak administration.

- BIA - Coal distribution in Kabul is up 25%. There will be no price increase; coal is supplied at Afs. 1,000/ton even though it costs the gov't Afs/ 2,300/ton.

12/25 - BIA - The Millie Bus Co. plans to import 400 Tata buses from India. Millie Bus operates 540 buses daily "in 46 directions of Kabul city." It carries over 400,000 people daily & earned Afs. 132m in the 1st 8 months this year. - "15 dailies, 21 periodicals & 39 magazines are published in the DRA. Total circulation is 500,000." Radio Afghanistan broadcasts have increased from 18 to 43 hours daily. There are radio stations in 13 provinces & TV in 7.

- Plans are underway for the restoration of tile work in Balkh & Herat.

12/26 - BIA - "A medical team of dental diseases, who have come from the USSR, extends free of charge medical treatment to patients." There are 44 dental clinics in the provinces.

- See p. 2 for new appointments to the Central Committee.

12/27 - CSM - The US estimates the number of Soviet troops in Afghanistan at 118,000 with 30,000-40,000 more north of the border but deployed regularly in counter-insurgency operations. Other sources say that Moscow has increased its force to well over 150,000. Pakistan & resistance sources put the number at over 200,000.

- SCMP - China called for the Soviets to set a time table for their troop withdrawal from Afghanistan in order to remove threats to the region caused by the presence of the troops.

- A security crackdown & a drive to win public support marked Kabul's preparation for celebrations of the 6th anniversary of the Soviet presence. Flack-jacketed Soviet troops patrolled the streets.

- BIA - Over 3,000 high school graduates have taken the entrance exams for Kabul Univ.

12/28 - HK Standard - Pakistani riot police in Islamabad arrested hundreds of Afghans who tried to march on the Soviet Embassy to protest the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan.

- SCMP - In Bangkok about 400 Muslims demonstrated outside the Soviet Embassy. Police prevented the demonstrators from throwing posters on the embassy grounds but no one was arrested.

12/29 - PT - The UNHCR projects an expenditure of \$54.1m on Afghan refugees in 1986. Pakistan estimates that 1 out of every 7 persons in the NWFP & Baluchistan is an Afghan refugee.

- BIA - Babrak met with a number of non-party state officials & told them that the administration of state affairs is not limited solely to the party. All layers of the society, including workers, peasants, craftsmen, clergymen, nomads, entrepreneurs, intelligentsia, etc., should take part in the development of the country.



12/29 - BIA - Two Australians, Dr. Robert Williamson & his wife, were released from a DRA prison. They had been arrested in Kandahar on 5/18/85, charged with illegally crossing the border with counter-revolutionaries. The UN Sec'y Gen'l requested their release.

- "The pernicious western propaganda on the alleged shortage of foodstuffs in the DRA is aimed at discrediting the revolution sovereignty in the country & to tarnish the image of the limited military contingent of the Soviet Union." A roundtable conference was shown on Afghan TV with the Agriculture Minister refuting western claims that Soviet troops have caused the "curtailment of agricultural yields." The Minister said that the USSR had given the DRA annually 30,000 tons of chemical fertilizer, 10,000 tons of seeds, 3,000 tons of anti-locust powder & lots of medicine for animal diseases. Cereal yields last year were 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ m tons; vegetable production was normal - 900,000 tons; fruit production was also 900,000 tons. Afghan fertilizer plants supply 120,000 tons annually. (See 12/30)

12/30 - BIA - The Commerce Minister said that the DRA imported \$158m worth of foodstuffs in 1985. In 1978, imports were \$85m. The "consumer necessities of the limited military contingents of the Soviet Union, including fruits & vegetables, are supplied by their own country; they do not use domestic foodstuff materials but instead help in the transportation of foodstuffs to the far-flung areas of the country."

- Returning refugees will be given food, cloth, home appliances, fertilizer, improved seeds, loans & credits. Since the gov't has sufficient land, they will be given plots in "any corner of the country they wish."

12/31 - BIA - Phase 1 of the East German designed power station project north of Kabul was inaugurated. The completed project will have a capacity of 80 megawatts.

- The PDPA CC issued a message on its 21st anniversary saying that it came at a time when the Afghan people have scored great successes in all social & economic spheres.

1/1 - BIA - The German charge d'affaires was called to the DRA Foreign Ministry to hear DRA complaints on intensified FRG propaganda campaigns in the last 2 months using "demagogical methods." The DRA also objected to the FRG giving another 200m marks to the counter-revolution.

1/2 - BIA - The PDPA & the Indian Nat'l Congress Party signed an agreement to establish friendship societies in both countries.

- Wali Khan Koki Khel, Afridi tribal leader, has complained that the "armed forces of Pakistan on the false pretext of 'operations against the production of heroin' have sieged the Khyber region & have been killing the innocent people & demolishing their dwellings by using heavy weapons. (See 1/4, 6, 9, 16 & p. 23)

1/4 - BIA - The Bakhtar political observer says that Pakistan has asked Hekmatyar & Khales to help suppress the Afridi & Shinwari tribes in the Khyber region & that this is taking place "under the direct instruction of Washington."

1/5 - NYT - 4 people were killed & 14 wounded in a bomb blast on 1/3 in the Landi Kotal bazaar. Pakistan authorities blamed the Khad.

- BIA - Bakhtar reports: explosions at the Aman hotel & at a restaurant in Peshawar; fighting between Gulbuddin & Rabbani in which 10 were killed; a conflict between Khalis & Nabi factions in which 2 were killed & 11 wounded.

- LA Times - Military analyst David Isby described a new Soviet technique in which helicopters drop small units behind rebel lines while larger Soviet units force the rebel units back into the guns of the smaller units. This "hammer-&-anvil" action prevents the rebels from fading back into the countryside.

- Afghan Realities - A Russian tank hit a bus in Kabul killing several people.

- Afghan News - Ayatollah Khomeini received a delegation of mujahideen led by Prof. Rabbani, leader of Jamiat Islami. Khomeini praised the Afghans for their struggle & rejected the idea of talking with the Babrak regime. He said no solution to the Afghan problem could be achieved without the participation of the Afghan people.



# 1/5 - Kayhan Int'l - Some statistics:

On one side, the Soviets have up to 140,000 troops in the country propping up the 300,000-man, desertion-ridden Afghan army. On the other, the Mujahideen have anywhere from 90,000 to 250,000 fighters trekking cross-country from bases in Pakistan.

Estimates of Soviet deaths, ranging from an unlikely low of 3,000 to a more realistic 30,000 pale in comparison to Afghan deaths — fighters

and civilians — ranging from 250,000 to 750,000...

— The Soviets have lost more than 800 aircraft, including some 200 during 1985 when the Afghan guerrillas began to receive more anti-aircraft weapons, including Soviet-built SA-7 shoulder-fired missiles.

— Two of the heavily armored MI-24 "Hind" helicopter gunships have been taken by defectors.

1/6 - PT - Gulbuddin, addressing a conference in Pakistan, said that mujahideen overpowered over 100 communist tribesmen in the Khyber Agency & handed them over to Pakistani authorities. He said the tribesmen would no longer be able to impede the way of Islam. He also said that ex-king Zahir & other Afghan rulers had miserable fates due to their friendship with the Russians & that Babrak would meet the same fate. He stated that the fight in Afghanistan was not between the US & the USSR but between Islam & "kufr" (infidels).

- CSM - Edward Girardet writes that more than 530 primary & intermediate schools have been set up for Afghan refugees in Pakistan but that there is only 1 high school. Some Afghans attend local Pakistani schools but places are scarce. Resistance parties have started a number of their own schools, including an "Islamic Univ." run by Sayaf. (See p.12 for more Girardet)

NYCT - Jean-Pierre Gabriel reports that Iran is "quietly leaning" toward the USSR & working to quell the "fervently Muslim freedom fighters in neighboring Afghanistan." An unidentified Afghan freedom fighter told the Paris-based European Information Center that about 100 Iranians were sent by the Tehran regime to Kabul where they were given Afghan passports. Under their new identities they were sent to Bulgaria for training in military & subversive techniques in a KGB camp.



## The same article continues:

In contrast to Pakistan, which has been very hospitable toward Afghan refugees, consistently supporting the freedom fighters and allowing the transport of weapons through its territory, Iran so far has refused to be used in any way as a base for Afghan Mujahideen.

The Iranian government closed its borders to any transit goods or weapons. Its policy is to move the refugees as far away from Afghanistan as possible in order to discourage any anti-Soviet gatherings or attempts at reconquest.

Many Afghan seasonal workers, traditionally numerous in Iran, testified that they had been stripped of all their money by Iranian border guards, who drove them to the point of desperation in order to force them to join with Iranian troops in fighting Iraq. Thousands of Afghans have been identified among the Iranian forces involved in the Gulf War.

So far, Iran's aid to the Afghan freedom fighters has been exclusively directed towards Shi'ite groups which it totally controls, such as the Sepah, in the central province of Hazarajat, which is a carbon copy of the Iranian organization bearing the same name, and the Nasr, founded in Iran by Hazara refugees faithful to Khomeini.

The common characteristic of all those groups is that they never fight against Soviet troops, but only against other Afghan organizations, either Shi'ite or Sunni, which continue to struggle against the occupying forces.

Heavily armed by Iran, those groups succeeded since 1982 in challenging the monopoly exerted in Hazarajat by the Shura, a moderate political organization led by Said Beheshti, which had gathered together all the resistance networks in the province.

By infiltrating pro-Iranian agents into the Shura and by assassinating several of Beheshti's aides, such as Mohammad Aslam, the pro-Iranian organizations dismantled this unified front from within.

1/6 - Afghan News - Jamiat Islami opened a Film Center in Peshawar to train young cameramen to make films inside Afghanistan to send to the rest of the world.

[The "winners" of the \$500,000 USIA grant to provide training & equipment to Afghans to help generate information on the Afghan struggle are the School of Public Communication at Boston University & King Features, a division of Hearst Corp.]

Since spring of 1984, when they drove Beheshti out of his capital city of Waras, they have gained control of two-thirds of Hazarajat and now subject the people who remained loyal to the Shura to a reign of terror.

According to testimonies gathered by an Afghanistan International Bureau commission last October in the central eastern province of Wardak, 500 Hazara refugees had to flee after heavy machine-gun attacks on them by the Nasr for having refused to turn their weapons against the Shura, instead of fighting the Soviets.

The refugees' spokesmen said most of the people in Hazarajat reject the ideology of the Nasr, but they are forced to obey them.

It is estimated that this civil war directed from Iran has caused hundreds of deaths. Isolated and weakened, Beheshti's *Harakat-Islami* nevertheless continues to refuse allegiance to Iran and continues to promote Shi'ite resistance to Soviet occupation.

Under the control of pro-Iranian puppet organizations, Hazarajat has practically become an autonomous republic in the center of Afghanistan, totally cut off from the rest of the resistance.

As a result of a tacit agreement, the Soviets avoid bombing this region while the Nasr and sister organizations hinder any action against the occupying forces.

The loss of this region of key strategic importance, at the crossroads of the different parts of the country, represents a serious handicap for the Afghan resistance.

For the Soviets, the benevolent neutrality of the new masters of Hazarajat allows better protection against Mujahideen attacks upon their three big bases in western Afghanistan: Herat, Shindand and Farah, from which they are in a position to threaten the Persian Gulf.



1/6 - BIA - Sultan Ali Keshtmand told the Council of Ministers that the gross domestic product "will be increased by 25% in the next 5-year-plan which is higher by 11% as compared with the GDP growth in the past 5 years." Industrial production will grow by 28%, agricultural production by 15% & the national income will rise from 11% to 26%.

1/7 - BIA - The Export Promotion Bank has given over Afs. 1 billion to different institutions to assist state-run & private companies, cooperatives & national traders.

1/8 - Afghan News - Sayed Ahmad Gailani, leader of the National Islamic Front, is the new spokesman for the Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen. He will serve for 3 months.

- NYT & IHT - Afghan authorities reportedly arrested at least 4 army generals on 12/5 for warning mujahideen about Soviet troop movements in the Panjsher.

- NYCT - Gun battles between Khalq & Parcham factions erupted last week in Kabul. Fighting in the presidential palace lasted about an hour.

1/9- HK Standard - Meanwhile, on the frontier:

ISLAMABAD: Tension is rising between Afghan rebels and Pakistanis living in the sensitive tribal area bordering Afghanistan, with their leaders trading threats in public for the first time in years, tribesmen in Peshawar say.

Dissident Pashtun tribal chief Wali Khan Kukikhel has told his followers to capture Afghan rebels crossing the lawless area to mount attacks against Kabul's Soviet-backed government, they say.

His call came after Afghan rebel leader Gulbuddin Hekmatyar warned Pakistanis on Saturday against blocking the guerrillas' "Jihad" (Holy War) and tauntingly reminded them that rebels had just killed four and captured 134 of the tribesmen freshly armed by Kabul...

Pakistani Interior Minister Mohammad Aslam Khattak last month voiced

Islamabad's concern at the growing tension along the border, revealing that the unruly tribes there now had about 300,000 Kalashnikov assault rifles — enough to equip an army — as well as hundreds of rockets, anti-aircraft guns and bombs.

Chief Kukikhel said in October he was stocking weapons for a showdown with the better-armed rebels whom he accused of taking over the tribal area. He issued his latest call after guerrillas ambushed and disarmed his men inside Afghanistan on January 1.

The tribesmen were coming back from picking up free weapons which Kabul is distributing to get them to block guerrillas from attacking Afghanistan.

Tribal sources said the government was so concerned about the rising tension that it had made contact with Chief Kukikhel to try to work out a compromise.

1/9 - PT - 15 Afghan refugees were killed & 6 injured when a pickup truck hit a mine in the Asteem camp in Sadda, Kurram Agency, yesterday.

- BIA - The Spinzar enterprise in Kunduz bought over 10,000 tons of unginned cotton in the last 2 months. The best growers were Haji Moh'd who got 8 tons from 3 hectares of land & Abdul Qudos who got 4,546 kilos from 2 hectares.

- The next 5-year DRA socio-economic development plan will begin 3/21/86. It will call for a 38% growth in industrial production (see 1/6).

- At a recent jirgah of frontier tribesmen it was decided that Afridi tribesmen could keep any weapons they seized from counter-revolutionaries.

- Babrak addressed a joint session of the politburo, the CC & the RC Presidium &



called for the representation of social groups belonging to tribes & nationalities in the RC. The RC secretariat proposed the creation of standing

committees on planning & budget, inspection, culture & int'l relations. These measures were approved but they will be presented for assessment to the next extraordinary session of the RC.

1/10 - Afghan Realities - According to Hezb-e-Islami some 400 militiamen & 250 soldiers surrendered in the Paidara area of Ghazni. They apparently joined the mujahideen on the basis of a general amnesty declared by Gulbuddin on 12/27.

- PT - The Republic of Korea donated 20 jeeps to Pakistan for Afghan refugees. The jeeps, plus spare parts, are valued at \$219,420. Earlier Korea gave 20 jeeps, 20 trucks, "20 poni cars & a fleet of ambulances." The Food & Agricultural Organization will donate \$29.8m worth of wheat in 1986. Minimum refugee wheat consumption is estimated at 350,000 tons, edible oil at 21,000 tons & sugar at 14,000 tons.

1/10 - SCMP - Soviets "boost" arms:

Washington: US intelligence services report a recent marked increase in shipments of Soviet arms to Afghanistan at a time when Moscow has been hinting at a possible negotiated peace settlement there, US officials said on Wednesday.

The development "in just the past three to four weeks" was too recent for agents to know the exact quantities involved, although there was "definitely an increase in artillery," said a source.

"Our intelligence people believe the Soviets are upgrading their firepower in Afghanistan noticeably," although "the troop strength of 115,000 doesn't seem to be changing," the source said.

The Soviets have also sent in new Hind-D fighter helicopters and tactical support planes.

"While the Russians are talking one way, they're going in-country with equipment that shows their real intention. It suggests they're really going for a military victory," the source said.

1/12 - NYT - In an interview published in the Asahi Shimbun in Tokyo, Babrak rejected Reagan's offer to act as a guarantor of a political settlement in Afghanistan. He also ruled out negotiating with the guerrillas.

- PT - The Organization of Islamic Conference called for the immediate, total & unconditional withdrawal of all foreign troops from Afghanistan. - The Soviets reportedly are providing military training to "selected officers" of Khalq & Parcham to introduce "new faces" in the DRA gov't, giving the impression that they want changes in the Babrak gov't.

- BIA - Bakhtar cites the Washington Post saying that intensive coaching of propaganda personnel from among the terrorists will begin this year under USIA auspices (see 1/6). "Bandits will be trained in concocting TV films which will slander" the DRA & glorify the freedom fighters.

- Of 200 peasant cooperatives in the DRA, 52 are in Herat.

1/13 - BIA - An earthquake - 5.5 Richter - shook Kabul last night. No casualties were reported.

- To expand the social base of the April Revolution, membership of the RC has been doubled; non-party people have been appointed to the Council of Ministers & elections are underway. 60% of the elected deputies are non-party people. Bandits who see the light will be welcomed back to participate in local assemblies & social organizations.

- A Japanese reporter in Kabul said that Gulbuddin had told other Japanese reporters that if the USSR consented to with-

draw its troops, he would be ready to talk with the USSR. Babrak said poppy-cock [or a Farsi facsimile thereof].

- NYCT - The 31 Afghan refugees who had been detained in New York for up to 18 months for illegally entering the US were released on 1/10.



THREE OF THE THIRTY-ONE AFGHANS released last Friday from a federal detention center in lower Manhattan, celebrate their freedom with relatives.

1/14 - BIA - Mahmoud Baryalai puts PDPA membership at 145,000. He added that "over 50 radios make hostile publications against the DRA...250 hours/week (see p28).

- PT - An Afghan Lt. Col. from the Traffic Police Dept. defected to Pakistan with his family. He said that Soviet tanks were ruining the roads in Kabul & tying up traffic. He said a tank hit a bus last year killing 50 civilians (see 1/5). He added that Russians do not get traffic tickets.

1/15 - NYCT - Aaron Einfrank writes that collaboration between the DRA army & the mujahideen has so infuriated the Soviets that they are now giving the DRA only 4 hours notice of troop movements.

- BIA - The CC of the NFF admitted 33 new members, the majority of whom are not party members.

- Dr. Akram Usman won a state literary prize for his short story "A Vagrant." Another of his stories, "Man Keeps His Words," is about a poor kite flyer who lived in the poorest part of Kabul & fell in love with a fairy princess [a party member, no doubt]. The film version of this story "won the hearts of the public from the very 1st days of its screening in Kabul's cinemas." Usman is now working on a novel about the life of Kabul's intellectuals during the past 20 years.

1/15 - LA Times- Execution:

Twenty Soviet soldiers who refused to join Afghan troops in fighting Muslim rebels were executed in the southern Afghan city of Kandahar last month, Western diplomats said in Islamabad, Pakistan. The Soviet soldiers apparently feared that the Afghan troops would defect to the rebels once fighting started, the diplomats said, quoting reports from the Afghan capital. The diplomats also reported such a defection, saying that 400 Hazara Shia tribesmen, given assault rifles and six months' pay in early December to work as pro-government militiamen, went over to the rebel side near the south-eastern city of Ghazni. The reports could not be confirmed.

1/16 - LA Times - Pakistan reportedly shot down an Afghan MIG 21 when it intruded Pakistan's air space west of Peshawar. The plane crashed on the Afghan side of the border.

- Washington Post - Congress has approved \$15m in annual humanitarian assistance to Afghanistan to be administered by AID. Another \$10m will be administered by the Defense Dept. to cover costs in transporting "nonlethal" items such as clothes & blankets for refugees.

- PT Iranian President Seyed Ali Khamenei, on an official visit to Pakistan, ruled out any possibility of Iran's participating in direct or indirect talks with the Kabul regime.

- BIA - An Afridi tribal jirgah decided that the Khyber tribes are "duty-bound to arrest counter-revolutionaries wherever they see them" & hand them over to Wali Khan Kokikhel.

- On the 16th session of the Islamic foreign ministers' conference: "The DRA regards any anti-Afghan resolution issued by any forum in its absentia is a gross violation of the UN charter & int'l laws & principles..." & regards them "void of any legal credibility."

- Korea Herald - Soviet Major V. Kryulov, writing in Red Star, complained that the Red Army did not know how to fight in mountains even though the need for such training was great.

1/17 - PT - The DRA will not disclose a time table for the withdrawal of Soviet troops before the launching of direct negotiations with Pakistan, according to DRA UN Ambassador Moh'd Zarif.

- LA Times - Moscow wants a friendly, non-aligned government on its southern border:

In their drive to persuade Pakistan to recognize Karmal, Soviet and Afghan officials have also said that Afghanistan is willing to accept the Pakistani position on a border dispute that dates from the 1940s. The officials said Afghanistan would recognize the "Durand Line," the border fixed by British military authorities in the 19th Century through the Khyber Pass.

A Pakistani diplomat said his government has long demanded that Afghanistan recognize the Durand Line. "It has been a source of tension for years," he said. "But it doesn't affect our position on the other issues."

1/18 - Afghan Realities - A battalion of Soviet troops arrived at Guruku, near Torkham, to set up new posts to seal off mujahideen routes & to open the way to tribal Afridis & Shinwaris.

- BIA - Bakhtar reports that 23 American advisers were killed & 7 injured when their bus was bombed near the Afghan border.

- The 4th extraordinary session of the RC welcomed 70 new members & agreed to form commissions (see 1/9). Babrak stated that 71% of the new RC members are non-party bringing the non-party total of the RC to 39%. Upcoming decisions for the RC will be the laws governing lawyers, people's militias, prosecutors & state power.

- Gas exports accounted for 40% of the DRA's currency receipts. The possibility of building Afghanistan's 1st railroad is being discussed with the USSR. [Again!] The next 5-year-plan calls for a 25% increase in the GNP.

1/20 - Washington Post - The US State Dept. cables all its embassies saying that the US has not received any Soviet withdrawal time table, nor has Pakistan or the UN. Reports that the DRA Foreign Minister had shown such a plan to Diego Cordovez (see FORUM XIV,1, p.13) were false.

- Afghan Realities - One person was killed & 15 injured in a bomb blast in the Ganj area of Peshawar.

- PT - Babrak was reelected Pres. of the DRA & 3 non-party vice chairmen were elected to the RC bringing its membership to 139. According to the NYT, S. Ul-Haq, a religious leader, was named 2nd Deputy Chairman.

- PT - Two bombs were found in the Nasir Bagh refugee camp; 4 people including 1 Afghan refugee were arrested.

- BIA - Journalists from the GDR, India, Czechoslovakia, Poland, Finland, Japan, the US, Sweden, Italy, FRG, Kuwait & Britain arrived in Kabul at the invitation of the Foreign Ministry. They learned that the NFF has over 760,000 members; that 10s of thousands "have picked up arms for defending their families, their country & the

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AFGHANISTAN FORUM, INC.  
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NEW YORK, NY 10021



# ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
AWSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- Bakhtar Information Agency
CC	- Central Committee
CSM	- <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>
DRA	- Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOA	- Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- <u>Federal Republic of Germany</u>
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KNT	- <u>Kabul New Times</u>
NFF	- National Fatherland Front
NWFP	- Northwest Frontier Province
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
NYCT	- <u>New York City Tribune</u>
PDPA	- People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PSFO	- Peace, Solidarity & Friendship Organization
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
RC	- Revolutionary Council
RTV	- Refugee Tent Village
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNGA	- United Nations General Assembly
UNHCR	- United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA	- Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

Please send items for the AFGHANISTAN FORUM to  
The Afghanistan Forum, Inc.  
201 East 71st Street, 2K  
New York, NY 10021, USA

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Subscription rates: \$20 per year (US & Canada) (Add \$5 for FORUM PAPERS)  
\$24 per year (foreign); airmail Europe - \$35; Asia \$40.  
6 issues/year \$35 per year (institutions) \$45; \$50.  
(includes FORUM PAPERS)